


THE LIBRARY.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'NOVA SOLYMA.'

OME time ago, whilst collating a copy of Baxter's 'Holy Commonwealth' (1659), the following entry caught my eye in the 'Catalogue of the Chiefest of those Books, as are Printed for Thomas Underhill,' appended thereto:

By Samuel Gott Esquire.

Novæ Solymæ, Libri sex, Sive Institutio Christiani.

1. *De Pueritia.*
2. *De Creatione Mundi.*
3. *De Juventute.*
4. *De Peccato.*
5. *De Virili Ætate.*
6. *De Redemptione Hominis.*

Essayes concerning Mans true Happiness.

Parabolæ Evangelicæ Latine redditæ Carmine Paraphrastico varii generis.

Further investigation revealed the presence of the same entry in W. London's 'Catalogue of the

most vendible Books in England,' published in the previous year.

Of the three items, the first is, of course, the now well-known anonymous Romance first printed in 1648, re-issued in the following year by Thomas Underhill, with the new and fuller title-page as given above, and finally, after two hundred and fifty years 'drawn from obscurity, and attributed to the illustrious John Milton' by the Rev. Walter Begley. Probably most of the readers of 'THE LIBRARY' are familiar with the two parchment-backed volumes which appeared in 1902, containing Mr. Begley's translation, with his elaborate introduction, notes, and excursuses.

The evidence collected was largely cumulative, and consisted in a vast array of parallels of thought, similarities of diction, common peculiarities of vocabulary, all leading finally to a proof by elimination—'If not Milton, who, then?'

The inevitable weakness of such a proof is shown only too clearly by the sequel, for the claimant turns out to be a writer quite unknown to the historians of literature, almost unknown to bibliographers. None of the ordinary bibliographical dictionaries give any information about this Samuel Gott. Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* mentions only the 'Essay of true Happiness'; Darling in his *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* ignores the 'Essay,' but mentions the 'Divine History of the Genesis of the World,' published anonymously in 1670, but undoubtedly by Gott, as is shown conclusively by the autograph letter in the copy at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which hereafter; Halkett

and Laing incorporate Darling's entry in their Dictionary, and Allibone repeats Watt's entry. There, as far as I can find, the list ends. Who is this obscure writer, who comes to claim an anonymous work, which has been attributed with some show of probability to Milton?

Samual Gott was born on 20th January, 1613, and was son and heir of Samuel Gott, an iron-monger. Samuel Gott, the elder, appears to have been a merchant of some standing in the city. We find him in 1630 joining with two others of his Company in a petition that a warrant may be granted for the discharge of a shipment of bar-iron, which has been stayed by the mayor at Bristol; and in 1640 his name appears in the list of 'such inhabitants in tower ward as are conceived to be of abillitie,' and from whom the king hoped to borrow money towards the £200,000 he was anxious to raise.

Samuel Gott, the son, entered the Merchant Taylors' School in 1626, and proceeded thence to St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. He took his B.A. degree in 1632, the year in which Milton also left Cambridge, so that all the minute pieces of evidence collected by Mr. Begley to support his contention that 'Nova Solyma' was written by Milton in his college days, apply equally well to Gott's claim.

It is also worth noting that Gott was at St. Catherine's during the mastership of the well-known Puritan divine, Richard Sibbes, of whom Fuller writes: 'He found the House in a mean condition, the *Wheel* of St. *Katharine* having stood still (not

to say gone backwards) for some years together: he left it replenish'd with Scholars, beautified with Buildings, better endowed with Revenues.'

It would be hard to find a more likely source of inspiration for the theories and ideals of 'Nova Solyma' than a college career spent under such a Master during such a period of educational and administrative reform.

On 19th March, 1633, Gott was admitted to the Society of Gray's Inn. He was called to the Bar in 1640, but probably did not practise. There is no mention of him in the Gray's Inn records till 1657, when he was appointed Reader for Barnard's Inn. In 1641 or 1642 his father died (his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 18th January, 1642), and it was probably shortly after this that Gott retired to Battle, and established himself as a country gentleman. He married a daughter of Peter Farnden, or Farrenden, of Sedlescombe, himself a member of an established Sussex county family, and a Justice of the Peace. In 1644 was born Gott's daughter Mary, probably his eldest child. As we shall see later he must have lost one, if not two, sons in infancy during the years that followed, and it was probably the combination of political confusion abroad and private grief at home, which turned his thoughts in the direction of publishing. The only work known to have appeared under his name was published in 1650. It is a small duodecimo, entitled 'An Essay of the True Happines of Man. In Two Books. By Samuel Gott of Gra.i.es.' It was printed by Rob. White for Thomas Underhill, and consists of

twenty short essays on various subjects of moral or philosophical interest, and a corresponding twenty on different points of the Christian religion. In the Preface Gott apologises for writing in an age when 'if any Books be read, they are only such as we disdain to read twice; Pamphlets and Stories of Fact, or angry Disputes concerning the Times. . . . For my own part, though I know writing of Books to be a very mean employment, and of no great efficacy; when such writing as the famous *Talbot* set on his Sword, *Pro vincere inimicos meos*, is by many counted the best Logike and Rhetorike, and most authentike: yet I am content to make use of it, because I have no better antidote against Idleness, and the inconveniences thereof.'

Two years before, in 1648, appeared the first issue of the anonymous 'Nova Solyma.' This issue has the very brief title, 'Novæ Solymæ Libri Sex.' It is printed by John Legat, but no publisher's name is given. It contains nothing in the way of preface or postscript beyond the brief note on the last page 'Typographus Lectori,' in which the printer introduces his list of errata with the words 'atque erat ipsum exemplar nimis anceps & obscurum.' We may perhaps hazard a guess that this first issue was not published in the regular way through the trade, but was, as we should say nowadays, printed for private circulation, and distributed by Gott among his friends.

The remainder of what was probably not a large impression to begin with was then formally published in the following year, 1649, with the fuller title-page, and with Underhill's name in the

imprint. But the book had evidently no interest for the general public; Underhill still had copies to advertise in 1659, and we may suppose that practically the whole of this re-issue remained on his hands till it became waste paper. This would account for the fact that of the few copies now known of the work, almost all are of the original issue. Of the second issue Mr. Begley had come across one copy only, that in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Another copy was sold by auction in 1906, but I do not know of any others.

The value to us of this second issue lies, however, not in its rarity, but in the extra leaf added at the end containing the 'Autocriticon.' In this the author explains how the work was written in the heat of youthful ardour, and how on taking in hand the final revision 'he soon discovered that his literary bantling was not only an abortive one, but also so maimed and misshapen in form and structure as to require a very great deal of extra labour to make it presentable.' He finishes with the statement that 'if it should meet with approbation, he will be encouraged to go on, and, paying due attention to what the critics may say of the present work, will proceed to bring this first imperfect sketch into a more perfect picture.'

In drawing attention to the tentativeness expressed in this note, Mr. Begley was arguing better than he knew. Milton no doubt published anonymously and often with hesitation, but this was the result rather of a certain aloofness than of any doubt as to the value of his work. On the other

hand, we shall see later that this diffidence is quite typical of Gott.

One sentence in Mr. Begley's translation of this 'Autocriticon' it seems impossible to reconcile with the Preface to the 'Essay': 'He also felt that he could not possibly have leisure time to take it to pieces again, and rewrite it in a more perfect form.' But the difficulty almost disappears when we refer to the Latin original, which reads, 'nec, si convellere aggredieretur, satis sibi vacaret ut omnia perfecte refingeret.' This appears to me quite as reasonably to express disinclination as disability.

I think I shall be able to show that the external evidence for Gott's authorship is quite sufficient to render any detailed comparison between the 'Essay' and 'Nova Solyma' superfluous. I may, however, without fear of being tedious, give one example, which happens to be concise and quite typical, of the kind of parallel which Mr. Begley is able to find between 'Nova Solyma' and Milton, and the kind which we can now trace between 'Nova Solyma' and Gott. On page 133 of 'Nova Solyma' occurs the following passage: 'Quæ autem linguæ Carmentales sunt, & exoletæ, aut hodie apud eos populos usu vigent, quibus nihil nobiscum commune est, Grammaticastris, & gloriosis Philologis, non inviti relinquimus.' Mr. Begley calls special attention to the word 'grammaticaster,' and refers us to Milton, 'Op. Lat.,' 1698, p. 357. The reference is to the passage in the sixth of the Prolusiones, in which Milton alludes to his nickname 'The Lady.' It runs as follows: 'At cur videor illis parum masculus? Ecquis *Prisciani*

pudor? itane propria quæ maribus fœmineo generi tribuunt insulsi Grammaticastri!' which Professor Masson renders: 'Why seem I then too little of a man? Is there no regard for Priscian? Do pert grammaticasters thus attribute the "*propria quæ maribus*" to the feminine gender?' It will be seen at once that, while Milton uses the word in its proper sense of an inferior grammarian, the author of 'Nova Solyma' uses it in a less proper sense, almost equivalent to 'pedant.' Now if we turn to Gott's Essay, p. 79, 'Of Learning,' we find the word used not only in the same sense, but in a similar context: 'What a strange madness is it in our Grammaticasters to trouble the world with their diversity of opinions concerning the right pronunciation of an Iota, or the Orthography of a word, as whether we should write *Felix* or *Felix*, rather than studying to be so? . . . Nor much better is our too great affectation of old and obsolete Languages.' The books both deal with 'things in general,' and we should expect to find in the Essays reminiscences in thought and expression of the youthful 'Nova Solyma,' which was being prepared for publication just in the years when these were being written. This is exactly what we do find; and I think it would be possible, if it were necessary, to get very near a proof of the authorship of the 'Nova Solyma' merely from a comparison of the two works.

It is not, however, necessary to wait even till London's Catalogue in 1658 for something approaching to positive external proof of Gott's authorship. In 1652 Francis Goldsmith published

his translation of Grotius's 'Sophompaneas, or Joseph. A Tragedy.' Now Francis Goldsmith was born just a couple of months after Samuel Gott, entered the Merchant Taylors' School a year later than Gott, and after taking his degree at Oxford joined Gott again at Gray's Inn in 1634. Whom would he more naturally ask for some commendatory verses on Grotius's tragedy of Joseph, than his friend Gott, whose romance, with its hero Joseph, would be fresh in his memory? Gott replies with three stanzas on the subject, the poet, and the translator, and shows the closeness of the friendship by his mode of address.

'Frank! Thou to us his Catechisme didst give,
There Teaching, and here showing how to live,' etc.

Goldsmith reciprocates this expression of affection, and at the same time introduces a delicate allusion to his friend's anonymous work, by inserting among the epitaphs, which close the volume, a pathetic stanza, 'To S. Gott. On the death of our Children,' which ends with the couplet:

'Still let our faith and comfort be, we them
Again shall find in *New Hierusalem*.'

In this same year, 1652, was born Gott's son and heir Peter, and about this time Gott seems to have taken up his residence in London for a time. In 1657, as I noted above, he was appointed Reader for Barnard's Inn, and it was evidently while in London at this time that he either requested or permitted his publisher to advertise the anonymous

'Nova Solyma' under his name. In 1658 he was elected an 'Ancient.' How long after this he remained in London is not certain: his name does not appear in the list of signatories to the 'Humble Adresse of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of the County of Sussex' presented to the King at the Restoration, and from this we may suppose that he was still in London at the time. He was returned to Charles II.'s first Parliament as member for Winchelsea, but did not sit in the second Parliament. In 1663 we know he had settled again at Battle, for in this year he had the misfortune to be 'assaulted and wounded' by John Machell and Isaack Tully, upon whom fines of £1,000 and £500 respectively were imposed. In the letter from the King to the Lord Chief Justice, in which Charles signifies his pleasure that 'for the Example Wee meane it shall give, you doe not in any measure mitigate the said Fines,' Gott is described as 'one of Our Justices of the Peace within Our said County.'

From 1663 to 1670 I have found no mention of Gott. This silence fits in very well with the preparation during these years of an elaborate treatise on the first chapter of Genesis, a subject which had already been dealt with at some length in the second book of 'Nova Solyma.' The treatise was published, also anonymously, in the year 1670, with the title: 'The Divine History of the Genesis of the World Explicated & Illustrated.'¹ It is a quarto

¹ The Term Catalogue, Hilary Term 1670, gives a sub-title: 'or a Philosophical Coment on the first Chapter of Genesis; and tryal of Philosophy, both Ancient and Modern, by that most infallible Rule.' This *may* refer to another issue or edition, but is more probably only a descriptive entry.

of 500 odd pages, printed this time for H. Eversden, and is by far the most solid and least interesting of Gott's productions. There is no room for doubt as to the authorship of this work, for there is in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, a copy presented by Gott to Peter Gunning, then Bishop of Chichester, to which is prefixed a Latin autograph letter from the author, followed by a series of distichs on the various schools of philosophy. At the end is added, also in manuscript, a supplementary essay on the Waters above the Firmament, which Gunning seems to have pointed out as an omission in the printed book.

In the 'Premonition to the Reader' is a passage which reminds us of the note 'Typographus Lectori' in 'Nova Solyma': 'The Manuscript hath suffered many Expunctions and Interlineations, which rendered it not so legible; and my absence from the Press permitted some faults to escape in Printing.'

I may remark here that Gott's handwriting, at least in his later years, was clear enough; probably it was similar 'expunctions and interlineations,' rather than a difficult hand, which rendered the manuscript of 'Nova Solyma' 'nimis anceps atque obscurum.'

The tentative spirit of another passage in the 'Premonition' and of one in the letter to Gunning is curiously reminiscent of the two passages quoted earlier from the 'Autocriticon': 'The exquisite Poets in the time of *Augustus* (as I find in *Ovid*) used first to recite privately one to another: and I remember Mr. *Selden* told me, that he and *Heinsius* used to communicate Notes towards some

of their Works. *Schola Salerni, Collegium Conimbricense*, and others, wrote in Common: which certainly is a very great advantage; where many collect the Materials, and one is the Composer and Architect of the Work, and then all review and rectify it. But I, who live alone in the Country farr from *Athens*, must proceed otherwise, and as Inferior *Animals*, first exclude an Embryonical *Ovum*, which may be afterward hatched into a more perfect *Fœtus*.'

And in the letter to Gunning: 'Accipe ergo, et perge inspicere tuis eruditis et sagacibus oculis; atque e Mosis Cathedrâ Mosen meum mihi prælegere: unde ego hoc rude quod institui opus, tuâ, et nostratium limâ repurgatum, dignumque Latinis literis, per totum orbem Christianum propalare ausim.' But the Latin version was not to appear. In December, 1671, Gott died at Battle.

As in the case of 'Nova Solyma' there seems to have been no attempt permanently to conceal Gott's authorship, either on the part of Gott himself or of his heirs. 'The Divine History' is entered as anonymous in the Term Catalogue and in Clavell's earlier General Catalogues. But in the General Catalogue of 1680 it is entered as Gott's. These anonymous issues seem to have been looked upon by Gott somewhat in the light of final proofs, which he sent to his friends for comment and criticism. I think it highly probable that had he been encouraged to issue the revised editions he speaks of, these would have appeared with his name on the title-page. This surmise is borne out by the fact that this was actually done in the

case of the 'Essay,' which does not set out to be a serious work needing revision, or anything more than a collection of slight studies.

I have already said that the external evidence for Gott's authorship of the 'Nova Solyma' seems to me sufficient to make any detailed examination of the internal evidence of style and matter superfluous. But curiously enough, there is a link missing in the chain of evidence I have been able to collect, without which any attempt at a comparison could not fail to prove abortive. This is the third work named in the booksellers' lists, viz.: 'Parabolæ Evangelicæ Latinè redditæ,' etc. I have absolutely failed to trace any copy of this, or record of the date of publication.¹ It will be interesting to see whether the appearance of this article leads to the discovery of a copy hidden away in some college library. Meanwhile we have nothing to compare with the large volume of Latin verse in 'Nova Solyma' except the dozen distichs prefixed to Gunning's copy of the 'Divine History.' These are no better, and no worse, than the verses of 'Nova Solyma,' or of Latinists generally of the period. Here are two samples:

DE SOCRATE.

Rem tibi Socratici possunt ostendere mores;
Dum Schola sermones et dare verba solet.

AD SCEPTICUM.

Qui se scire nihil, quid agat nescire fatetur:
Qui neque scit, nec agit, Sceptice, qualis erit?

¹ The signs used in London's Catalogue show that the book was published not later than 1650, but that is all. No indication of size is given.

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The missing paraphrases would doubtless furnish parallel examples of the very varied metres for which 'Nova Solyma' is conspicuous, but could not add material weight to the evidence of Gott's authorship.

STEPHEN K. JONES.

SOME NOTES ON THE LETTERS i, j, u AND v IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY PRINTING.

WE can regard with equanimity the statement in Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica'¹ that Louis Elzevier, 'who printed at Leyden from 1595 to 1616, . . . was the first who made the distinction of u from v and i from j; which was shortly after followed by the introduction of U and J among the capitals, by Lazarus Zetner of Strasburg, in 1619'; for the work of Watt, excellent as it was in its own day, has in many points long ago been superseded. When, however, we find this statement cited in the New English Dictionary,² apparently as the latest and most authoritative dictum on the subject, we may naturally feel some surprise, even though the citation is accompanied by evidence which shows that it cannot be accepted as a true presentation of the case. And yet if we were asked to what work of more recent date we would refer an enquirer who had noticed that the use of these letters in the early part of the sixteenth century was very different from what it is now, and who wished to know how and when the change came about, we might be hard put to it

¹ Vol. i., p. 336a.

² In the article on the letter j.

for an answer. There are notes on the subject here and there; Herbert has several in his edition of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities'; but, so far as I have been able to learn, the last attempt to deal with the question at all fully was early in the eighteenth century, in a 'Dissertation sur le tems auquel les imprimeurs ont introduit l'J & l'V consonnes,' which is to be found in the 'Continuation des Mémoires de Littérature et d'Histoire' of P. Desmolets, vol. vii.¹ This article, though a good piece of work within the limits which it prescribes, naturally says nothing about what is of most interest to us, namely, the history of these letters in England.

To deal with the subject exhaustively would, of course, require much time and the systematic examination of a large number of books; for, with the exception of Herbert, few bibliographers—at least of those who have dealt with sixteenth century printing—seem to have been interested in the letters and characters themselves, or to have noticed peculiarities in their use. An exhaustive treatment is, however, far from my intention. I wish merely to bring together a few more or less disconnected notes bearing upon the matter. They will at least show that Watt was grievously in error.

It is well known that until the sixteenth century i and j were, as a general rule, regarded as merely

¹ The article is said to be by Philibert Papillon, see Goujet, 'Bibliothèque Française,' 1741, etc., vol. i., p. 43. The 'Continuation des Mémoires' appeared in 1726-31, but I have only seen what I presume is a reprint, in which vol. vii. is dated 1749. In this the article, which is not signed, occupies pp. 217-29.

two forms of the same letter, the like being the case with u and v. Such differentiation as there was in their use was merely a matter of calligraphy; either letter of the pair could stand equally well for a vowel sound or for a consonant. Indeed the complete separation of the letters is of quite recent date, for until the last century was well advanced, the i- and j-words were arranged together in dictionaries, as were also those beginning with u and v. The particular point which I wish to discuss is the change which took place between about 1520 and 1630,¹ by which j and v from being merely graphic variants of i and u came to represent different sounds, the change, in short, by which it came about that the Latin words which in 1500 were commonly written 'inijcere' and 'vua' had by 1650 taken the forms 'inijcere' and 'uva.' The fortunes of the two pairs of letters in question were not identical, but were sufficiently similar to allow of their being treated together. The slight gain in clearness which might result from taking each pair separately seems to be outweighed by the tediousness of narrating a great part of their story—a dull one at best—twice over.

The practice of the earliest printers, which they presumably took over from the scribes of their time and country, with regard to the letters under discussion was as follows:

(1) There was an upper-case letter approximating

¹ According to information kindly given by Mr. Robert Steele the modern use of these letters in English Proclamations dates from September, 1637, and this may be taken as marking their final triumph.—ED.

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in shape in Gothic founts rather to the modern J than to I, but serving indifferently for either.

(2) An upper-case letter approximating in shape in Gothic founts to U, and serving for U and V.

(3) A lower-case i, serving for both i and j.

(4) A lower-case j, used for the second of two i's in words like 'perij,' and in Roman numerals as 'viij.'

(5) A lower-case u, serving for both u and v, but only used medially or finally.

(6) A lower-case v, serving for both u and v, but only used initially.

There were no doubt exceptions to the general rule: it has been stated that certain of the German printers used j for the consonantal sound of i from the earliest times,¹ and the two letters were distinguished in Spanish printing²: but the practice of the great majority of the German, Dutch, and English printers until the end of the sixteenth century was in general as stated—in the case of black-letter printing almost invariably.

In books printed in the roman character there is, however, from its first introduction, some fluctuation in usage. Not indeed in the majuscules, for the roman I and V served precisely the same double purpose as the black-letter J and U, but in the lower-case letters, where u seems to have tres-

¹ See N. E. D., art. j. I have not come across these printers, but have no reason to doubt the truth of the statement.

² Thus, in books printed by Friedrich Biel at Burgos in 1485-7 we find *mejor, trabajos, viejo*, etc. In Spanish the letter j stood, as it does now, for a guttural aspirate. It is said to occur as distinct from i in Catalan MSS. of the fourteenth century ('Grand Encyclopedie,' 1887, etc., art. j).

passed to some extent on the province of its companion v. Thus in the first book printed in Italy, the 'Lactantius' of 1465, we find u instead of v initially in such words as 'uita,' 'uero,' and 'unus,' where in Germany printers would have spelled 'vita,' 'vero,' 'vnus.' Indeed, neither j nor v seems to be employed in the book at all.¹ This practice of using u initially seems to have been followed by the majority of the Italian printers; Jenson, for example, in his roman type seems not to employ v at all, save in the roman numerals. In his black-letter work he, however, followed the German practice, though with some irregularity, probably due to the compositors' knowledge of both systems. The Italian use of u soon spread outside that country, and in the sixteenth century was very commonly followed by those printers who printed chiefly in roman type, especially at Basel and Paris, while in North Germany, Holland, and England, the older system of using v as the initial letter was generally adhered to, both in roman type and in black letter.

So far, the letters of each pair have been regarded as differing merely in form; the use is purely a matter of appearance: but even in Roman times it had been noticed that the letter u or v, whichever form it took, represented two different sounds, the same thing being true of i, though of course in neither case was the pair of sounds the same as it was at the period with which we are now dealing. Probably in all ages attempts have

¹ Even in Roman numerals we have u, as 'lu,' 'xuii,' etc.

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been made by enthusiasts to cause the written language to represent with greater accuracy the spoken sounds, but the only early one which seems to have met with even temporary success is that of the Emperor Claudius, who proposed to use the digamma in such words as 'servus' and 'vulgus.'¹

It is indeed not until well on in the sixteenth century that we find any serious and sustained effort to discriminate in writing between the two sounds represented by each pair of the letters under discussion. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the first printed books in which the differentiation is observed were the works of the Italian poet Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550), who attempted to introduce a reformed method of spelling of which this innovation is a part. Trissino's '*Epistola de la vita che dee tenere una Donna vedova*,' printed by Lodovico de gli Arrighi Vicentino and Lautitio Perugino at Rome in 1524, has the modern use of u and v throughout, both in lower-case and majuscules, besides certain other new letters with which we need not concern ourselves, but does not distinguish i and j. The like is true of two other small works of Trissino, issued by the same printers in the same year, but an undated pamphlet apparently first printed to accompany these books, namely the '*Epistola de le Lettere Nuovamente aggiunte ne la Lingua Italiana*,' further distinguishes the conso-

¹ See Quintillian, '*Inst. Orat.*' i. 4. 8, and the commentators thereon. The letters of Chilperic, often referred to in conjunction with those of Claudius, do not seem to have included a v or j (Greg. Turon., '*Hist. Franc.*,' v. 45).

nantal sound of j.¹ The j is, however, used much less frequently than in the author's later work. Trissino had also devised a kind of sloping line to serve as a majuscule J, but there seems to be no example of its use.

The 'Epistola' was reprinted by Tolomeo Janiculo da Bressa in 1529. A preface informs us that much criticism had already been directed against the new letters, and the writer complains that excellent as the system is, the critics 'con la invidiosa nebula de la loro eloquenzia hanno quasi adombrato la incredibile utilità di essa.'²

From 1524 to 1548 at least Janiculo printed a number of works in the new spelling. Most, however, if not all, were either by or connected with Trissino, and it is not clear that the innovation had much success. The attitude of the majority towards it is exemplified by the republication in 1583 of Trissino's translation of Dante's 'De Vulgari Eloquentia,' 'di nuovo ristampato, e dalle lettere al nostro idioma strane purgato.'³

At about the time when Trissino was attempting to introduce his new letters in Italy, were beginning in France those spelling controversies which occupied so much of the attention of the

¹ In such words as 'ajuto.' The sound indicated is of course the true consonantal sound of i, as in 'Hallelujah,' not the sound usually associated with j in English.

² I do not follow Janiculo's spelling in all its details.

³ It may be said in passing that Trissino's scheme of spelling reform was both simple and valuable. It distinguished between close and open e and o, and between the dz and ts pronunciation of z—things which have worried all who have ever tried to learn Italian since.

learned world throughout the century. Curiously enough, however, in the earlier writings on the subject, though the double value of the letters under discussion was of course recognized, the idea of making use of v and j to represent the consonants does not seem to have been suggested. For example, the work of J. du Bois, written under the name of 'Jacobi Sylvii Ambiani in Linguam Gallicam Isagoge,' 1531, distinguishes the consonantal sounds as i- and u-, as in 'i-e,' 'Au-ril,' 'receu-oir,' but Du Bois does not seem to intend the hyphen to be used in ordinary script; it is no more than a diacritic for scientific purposes. Similarly the leader of one of the most important schools of spelling reform, Louis Meigret, in his 'Traité touchant . . . l'écriture Française,' 1545,¹ recognizes that i and u each represents two distinct sounds, and would have them differentiated. He approves Claudius' idea of writing 'une f renversée' for the consonantal sound of u, but the obvious idea of using a v does not occur to him. In this work he keeps to the old practice as regards both u and i.

In a later book, however, 'Le tretté de la Gramme Francoëze,' 1550,² though he still follows the old practice of using v always initially and u always medially, we find a change as regards i. He now writes i for the vowel and j for the consonant

¹ There was an earlier edition in 1542, which I have not seen.

² It is interesting to note that this was printed at Paris by C. Wechel, whose successor Andreas Wechel was, as we shall see, the printer who had most to do with bringing about the change in practice.

according to the modern practice, having 'je,' 'ajouter,' etc. Either he or his printer, however, found it somewhat difficult always to remember the new letter, and we often find an i used instead. Exactly the same rule, u and v according to the old fashion, i and j according to the new, is to be found in another work published in the same year, the 'Dialogue de l'Ortografie e Prononciation Françoisse' of Jacques Peletier du Mans, where we have 'je,' 'majesté,' 'déjà,' etc., but in this work the use is somewhat more consistent.

In most of the works of the spelling reformers the changes proposed had been too numerous and elaborate, and had given to the print too great an air of oddity and extravagance for them to have much chance of success; but this cannot be said of the next work which we need notice, the 'Grammatica' of Pierre de la Ramée, or Ramus, first published in 1559. Though its author was later to propose most thorough-going reforms in the spelling of French, in this Latin grammar there were no departures from the current orthography save as regards the i and u, and the intrinsic importance of the work was sufficient easily to outweigh any slight strangeness which there might be in the use of these letters. It is not surprising that the authority of the writer and that of the printing-house of Wechel at Paris and Frankfurt, from which this and many of Ramus's other works issued, should together lead to the ultimate triumph of the new method.

Of the first edition of the 'Grammatica' I have been unable to see a copy, but so far as regards the

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matters with which we are now dealing, it is said to be identical with the third, published in 1560 by Andreas Wechel at Paris. In this we have not only the modern use of i and j, u and v throughout, but a majuscule J and U¹ of approximately modern form. Indeed the only departure from the practice of to-day seems to be in the case of the italic v. Wechel uses the ordinary curled italic v for the consonantal sound initially, but probably disliking the appearance of the letter within a word, he substituted a roman v medially. He had no italic majuscule I, but used a roman letter instead.

The reform, although as we have seen earlier attempts towards it had been made, was at the time and generally afterwards associated with the name of Ramus,² the letters j and v being even called 'consonnes Ramistes,'³ but Ramus himself does not seem to have claimed to be the inventor of the new system. Indeed his references to the matter, which are somewhat vague, point rather to Andreas Wechel, or some other printer, as the originator of the modern usage. Ramus does not indeed name him, but in his French grammar of 1562 he says with reference to the letter v, 'nous avons mis en latin vau suivant l'autorité de Varron

¹ The majuscule U employed by Wechel and other sixteenth-century printers resembles in form our u, but it is, nevertheless, I think, incorrect to regard it as being merely a lower-case u of a larger fount. When it is possible to compare a majuscule U with a true lower-case u of the same size, the letters will usually be found to differ slightly, the majuscule being as a rule somewhat broader.

² See, for example, the 'Monumentum' of Freigius [c. 1585], p. 24.

³ 'Nouv. Biog. Générale,' art. Ramus.

et de nos imprimeurs. La raison en est semblable en notre langue,'¹ and in his 'Scholae in liberales artes,' 1578, col. 29, l. 36, he says: 'Typographi vero nonnulli tacito consensu figuram vav consonae hanc v nempe, pro digamma illo Aeolico induxerunt.' Both these passages seem to attribute the change to the printers, but before 1562, at any rate, no printer in northern Europe seems regularly to have adopted the modern usage as regards v, nor does Wechel himself seem to have followed it in work earlier than Ramus' own 'Grammatica.'² The problem should be easily solved by those familiar with foreign printed books of the middle of the sixteenth century, but it is on the whole of little importance, for whether or no Ramus was the instigator of the change, it is certain that it was the weight of his name and the fact that the new system was from 1560 onwards regularly adhered to in his works which gave it its whole chance of success.

We need not follow the further progress of the change in continental printing. At first it is found chiefly in the works of Ramus and his followers, and it cannot be said to have made any great progress until towards the close of the century. From about 1620 it seems to have become the usual thing, but books may be found as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, in which the old practice is followed.

¹ 'Gramere,' p. 24. I do not follow Ramus' reformed spelling.

² The two books by Ramus which Wechel printed at Paris shortly before the 'Grammatica,' namely, the 'Ciceronianus' in 1557, and the 'Liber de Moribus Veterum Gallorum,' 1559, both conform throughout to the old practice as regards the letters under discussion.

When we turn to the use by English printers of the letters under discussion we find a perplexing story. There seem to have been several attempts to introduce the modern usage, and before 1600 a good many books had appeared in which it was followed, but they are the work of a number of different printers, and seem to have little connection one with another. We cannot point to any particular men as active promoters of the new system, and even those printing houses from which were issued several works in which the letters in question had their modern values, seem generally to have returned again to the old practice. The reform, though one would think it ought to have attracted some attention, seems to have passed almost unnoticed, and there is, so far as I have seen, no single contemporary reference in any printer's preface or elsewhere to the change of style. We are, in fact left without other information about it than can be derived from the books themselves.

Long ago Herbert remarked that J. Banister's 'History of Man,' printed by John Day in 1578, was the first book wherein he had seen the v and j 'properly used,'¹ and I cannot learn that an earlier English example of the new practice has been found since. In this work we have on the title-page '*objurges*,' '*Privilegio*,' '*Majestatis*,' and the modern usage is similarly followed in some Latin quotations in the preliminary matter, and in a Latin letter on *1^v, in such words as '*Invidia*,' '*livor*,' '*ut*,' etc. In the work itself, however, the old use is retained

¹ Ames, 'Typog. Antiq.,' ed. Herbert, 664 note.

both in the English and in such Latin words as occur in it, e.g., 'vena caua.'

In the 'History of Man' no italic v or j was used, but in another book printed in the same year, also by John Day, the 'Catechismus parvus pueris primum Latiné qui ediscatur, proponendus in scholis,' we have, according to Herbert,¹ the lower-case letters i and j, u and v, employed according to the modern usage both in roman and italic. It was, however, impossible, for want of the necessary type, to carry out the same rule in the majuscules in which the Creed, Commandments, etc., are printed, and a lower case j or u are consequently substituted for the upper-case letters. In one respect the printer adhered to the older custom, for he has 'Filijs,' 'Officijs,' etc. A similar system seems to have been followed in a third book printed by Day, namely, the 'Christ Jesus Triumphant' of 1579. Herbert² has a note upon this work, from which it might be inferred that Day had now a majuscule J, but his language is somewhat obscure, and I have not been able to see a copy of the book.

The other productions of Day's press both at this time and later seem all to have followed the older practice as regards the letters in question, and we next meet with the modern usage in the work of Henry Middleton. In the years 1575-9 Andreas Wechel had printed at Frankfurt a Latin Old Testament in four parts, translated from the Hebrew and annotated by Emmanuel Tremellius and F. Junius. In this work he had throughout

¹ Ames, *Typog. Antiq.*, ed. Herbert, p. 665.

² *op. cit.*, p. 668.

conformed to the same rules with regard to j and v as he had followed in the 'Grammatica' of Ramus.¹ This Old Testament was reprinted in England by Henry Middleton in 1579-80, and a New Testament, also by Tremellius, was printed to range with it by Vautrollier. In Middleton's part we find the modern use of lower-case v and j throughout, both in roman and italic, and we also find a majuscule J and U in the roman founts in which the text and notes are printed. There is no italic *U*, a roman *U* being used instead. For the italic *J* the *Ÿ* is used.² The New Testament, printed by Vautrollier, follows the old practice, with the exception of a few words in the preliminary matter. Possibly this was printed by Middleton, whose device appears on the title-page of this part as of the others. The whole work was reprinted in 1581; again, the Old Testament, by Middleton, follows the modern usage, the New Testament, by Vautrollier, the old one. The same is the case with the edition of 1585, save that in this the New Testament, as well as the Old, is printed by Middleton. In the first few pages of this New Testament the printer seems to have made an attempt to follow the modern style, but it is soon abandoned, and Vautrollier's text is followed letter for letter. The fourth English edition of the work, however, printed by G. Bishop, R. Newbery, and R. Barker, in 1592-3, follows the new practice throughout.

¹ He seems only to have had italic majuscules of *U* and *J* in one fount, a large one used in the preface to the second part of the book. Elsewhere roman majuscules are used instead.

² I am indebted to Mr. W. W. Greg for calling my attention to Middleton's practice in this Bible.

Though we cannot give Middleton any particular credit for originality, as he was but following his copy letter for letter, he seems at any rate to have introduced the majuscule U and J into this country—unless, indeed, the latter had been used by Day before—and to that extent may be regarded as a pioneer. He does not, however, seem to have made as much use of the new letters as we might have expected and in most of his later work he reverts to the old system. I have indeed only come across two later works of his in which the modern practice is followed, namely, the ‘*Epistola de Dialectica P. Rami*’ of William Temple in 1582, and the ‘*Animadversiones in Dialecticam P. Rami*’ of J. Piscator, 1583. These had, of course, a special claim on the new method as being concerned with Ramus, and we find it also followed in the ‘*P. Rami Dialecticæ Libri Duo, Scholiis G. Tempelli Illustrati*,’ printed at Cambridge by T. Thomas in 1584.¹

The next printers to take up the reform seem to have been Ninian Newton and Arnold Hatfield, who in 1584 printed two works for John Wight, namely, Edmund Bunny’s ‘*Sceptre of Judah*,’ and the same writer’s edition of R. Parsons’ ‘*Book of Christian Exercise*,’ together with his own ‘*Treatise of Pacification*.’ Both these works, so far as the lower-case letters are concerned, follow the modern

¹ In the Latin-English Dictionary which Thomas compiled there is some attempt to discriminate between u and v, and sometimes between i and j, at any rate in the editions of 1592 and 1596, printed by Legate. I have not seen that which Thomas himself printed. His ‘*Grammaticæ Latine . . . liber secundus*,’ 1587, may perhaps also follow the modern style, see title in ‘*Typog. Antiq.*,’ ed. Herbert, p. 1418.

practice, but the printers evidently had no J or U. In another edition of the 'Book of Christian Exercise,' printed for Wight by J. Jackson and E. Bollifant in 1586, i and j, u and v, are, according to Herbert, 'properly used' in the roman, but not in the italic. This edition I have not seen.

Probably from this time onwards there was year by year a small production of books in which the rules of Ramus or Wechel were conformed to, but the next examples that I have seen date from three years later. They are the work of Jackson and Bollifant who, as we have seen, had already printed in this style. The first is Richard Bancroft's 'Sermon' of 9th February, 1588-9, printed soon after the date of preaching, by E. B., presumably Bollifant, for G. Seton. In this work the modern usage is followed throughout in lower case, but there is again no J or U. The same may be said of the second edition of La Primaudaye's 'French Academy,' translated by T. B., which was published in this year by G. Bishop, without printer's name. The earlier edition (1586), printed by Bollifant, had followed the old practice throughout.

A third book published in 1589 is J. Lea's 'Answer to the Untruths published and printed in Spain in glory of their supposed victory,' printed by J. Jackson for T. Cadman. Jackson had still no italic *j*, and used roman instead, but otherwise in the lower case he followed the modern practice exactly. Apart from the edition of Parsons' 'Book of Christian Exercise,' 1586, I have not been able to find the modern system in any other work from Jackson's press.

In this same year 1589 were published a group of Puritan pamphlets belonging to the Marprelate controversy, some being printed on the famous secret press, and others by Waldegrave at Rochelle or Edinburgh. In four of these, namely, Penry's 'View of Public Wants,' 'Some in his Colours,' and the 'Appellation,' and Martin Senior's 'Just Censure of Martin Junior, we find j used as it now is, *e.g.* 'Majestie,' 'subjects,' 'just, etc., but v and u according to the old usage—a strange departure from the practice of other printers of the time, who seem invariably to have treated j and v alike in this respect. The other tracts of the group conform in all respects to the old rule, and we may perhaps suppose that this use of j was the freak of some particular compositor, though there is some difficulty in reconciling the assumed dates and places of printing of the four tracts with their having been all set up by the same man.

From 1589 there seems to be a gap of some years before a fresh attempt was made by any London printer to bring about the reform. The only London works which I have met with between this date and the end of the century in which the new style is followed are the Latin Bible already mentioned and the third edition of La Primaudaye's 'French Academy,' 1594. In this the roman v and j, U and J, are used as at present, but roman j and J are substituted for italic ones. It may be remarked, as an instance of the little headway which the reform was making at this time, that in the second part of the 'French Academy,' published together with the third edition of the first part, the

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old practice is adhered to, as it is also in the case of the third part published in 1601.

While, however, the old practice seems to have had the upper hand in London, a curious modification of the new was being tried at Oxford. In the year 1587 Joseph Barnes had there printed an edition of the 'Sum of Christian Religion' of Z. Ursinus, in which the old system was followed throughout. In reprinting this work, however, in 1589, he introduced a curious variation in the use of v. He still kept it in all cases as an initial letter, printing 'vs,' 'vntil,' etc., but medially used either u or v according as the letter represents a vowel or a consonant: thus we have 'vniustly,' 'avoid,' 'even,' etc. In the case of i he follows the old practice.

In the next year he took a further step forward, for in his 'Libellus Rogeri Baconi . . . de retardandis senectutis accidentibus,' 1590, we find j used according to the modern fashion in such words as 'ejus' and 'injicere,' though he still retains the old 'alijs,' 'judicijs,' etc. As regards u and v, the same mixture of systems is followed as in the 'Sum of Christian Religion,' 1589, and we have 'movere,' 'vnus,' etc. Barnes did not use his new system in many English books, nor in by any means all of his Latin ones, though he did not entirely abandon it. We find it later at London in the work of Valentine Symmes, who in 1605 followed it in two books, 'The School of Slovenry,' a translation of Dedekind's 'Grobianus,' and the 'Treatise of Spectres,' translated from P. le Loyer. Symmes prints, for example, 'vse,'

'abuse,' 'advise.' With regard to *i* he seems to follow the old practice, though occasionally a *j* appears. Save in the work of Barnes and Symmes I have come across no other instances of this insistence on the initial *v*.¹

The only other work which I need mention lies indeed somewhat outside the limit of date fixed, but is important as being—so far at least as I can learn—the first folio volume in English to employ the new method, namely, Philemon Holland's translation of Plutarch's '*Moralia*,' printed in 1603 by Arnold Hatfield. In this we find the modern practice followed throughout, at first, it is true, with a certain number of accidental lapses, but towards the end with great consistency. In the final portion of the book we have majuscule *I* and *J* regularly distinguished both in roman and italics. The roman majuscule *U* is used in most sizes of type except the largest, but the printer seems to have had no italic *U*, nor had he in the type in which the text is printed an italic *j*.

After this date the new practice seems to have spread more and more, though it was not until about 1630 that it became the normal one. A reprint of an earlier work published after that date will generally substitute the modern usage for the old, though there are still exceptions. Sometimes the two spellings are mixed, as they are in Hey-

¹ Certain spellings in the description of the verses '*In Catilinarias proditones ac proditores domesticos*,' 1586, given in the '*Typographical Antiquities*,' suggest that this work may offer an earlier example of Barnes's mixed style as regards *u* and *v*; but I have not seen a copy of the book, and in such points as this the most accurate transcribers are likely to err.

wood's 'Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas,' 1637, where we find 'alive,' giue,' 'grieves,' 'deuours,' and the like, at first used indiscriminately, though as the book proceeds the modern practice gets the upper hand. In respect of the majuscules the old spelling is retained throughout. Such mixtures are common at the date.

There are several subsidiary points in the history of these letters which seem to call for investigation, but this paper is long enough already, and in any case I fear that I could do little more than propound queries for others to solve. One would like, for example, to know when j and v first came to be admitted into the alphabet as separate and distinct letters, and how they came to have the names by which they are at present known. As regards the latter point, the evidence of rimes and puns shows clearly that in the Elizabethan period the letter V was called 'you,' and the fact that J often stands for the pronoun I seems to indicate that our present name for the vowel symbol served alike for both letters.¹ Some interesting remarks bearing upon the subject are to be found in A. Hume's 'Orthography and Congruity of the British Tongue,' written c. 1620, where, speaking of the letters under discussion he says:

¹ See Gascoigne's 'Council to B. Withipoll' ('Works,' ed. Hazlitt, i., 376), where 'three double V's' rimes with 'stewes.' Also Day's 'Humour out of Breath,' 1608, G 2 (IV., iii.): 'Ass[istance]. How now? who calls? Hort[ensio]. Why saucie knaue tis J. Ass. You, what you? Hort. A single V, I came in double, but I thanke them, they are gone out, and left me here a single— Ass. Foole, and so I leaue you.'

'Heerfoer, for distinctiones of both sound and symbol, I wold commend the symbol and name of i and u to the vowel sound; as, indifferent, unthankful; the symbols of j and v to the latin consonants, and their names to be jod and vau;¹ as, vain jestes; and the symboles y and w to our English soundes, and their names to be ye and we, or yod and wau; as, yonder, wel, yallow, wool.'²

Elsewhere, in reference to the teaching of the alphabet in schools, he remarks:

'I would wish . . . the masters teaching their puples to . . . name w not double u, nor v single u, as now they doe; but the last vau or ve, and the first wau or we; and j, for difference of the voual i, written with a long tail, I wold wish to be called jod or je.'³

From these passages it seems clear that the modern names for these letters had not yet come into use. Whether Hume himself had anything to do with their introduction I cannot say.

R. B. MCKERROW.

¹ The Hebrew names by which Ramus and other spelling reformers generally referred to them; cf. Ramus, 'Grammaticæ libri quatuor,' 1560, pp. 9, 10.

² Hume's 'Orthography,' etc., ed. Wheatley (E.E.T.S.), p. 13.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 16.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

ROMAIN ROLLAND'S 'Jean-Christophe' is drawing to an end. 'Les Amies,' the first volume of the concluding part, which bears the general title 'La fin du Voyage,' is now available, and two more volumes will complete the whole. The subject of 'Les Amies' is love, lovers, and love-making. Neither Jean-Christophe nor his friend Olivier are at their best as lovers, and none of the various ladies concerned are particularly attractive. But although neither the main theme nor the progress of Jean-Christophe's adventures is as interesting here as in the former volumes, the deep thought and the pregnant reflections are as striking as ever. In a book dealing chiefly with love, women naturally occupy a large place, and Rolland, as might be expected, says much that is both sympathetic and suggestive about their relations to men and their present position in society. The following passage is, I think, worth quoting in full:

'Combien la femme est seule! Hors l'enfant, rien ne la tient; et l'enfant ne suffit pas à la tenir toujours: car lorsqu'elle est vraiment femme, et non pas seulement femelle, lorsqu'elle a une âme riche et une vie exigeante, elle est faite pour tant de choses, qu'elle ne peut accomplir seule, si on ne lui vient en aide.

L'homme est beaucoup moins seul, même quand il l'est le plus : son monologue suffit à peupler son désert ; et quand il est seul à deux, il s'en accommode mieux, car il le remarque moins, il monologue toujours. Et il ne se doute pas que le son de cette voix qui continue imperturbablement de se parler dans le désert, rend le silence plus terrible et le désert plus atroce pour celle qui est auprès de lui et pour qui toute parole est morte que l'amour ne vivifie point. Il ne le remarque pas ; il n'a pas mis sur l'amour, comme la femme, sa vie entière comme en jeu : sa vie est ailleurs occupé. Qui occupera la vie de la femme et son désir immense, ces millions de forces ardentes et généreuses qui depuis quarante siècles que durent l'humanité se brûlent inutiles, offertes en holocauste à deux seules idoles : l'amour éphémère, et la maternité, cette sublime duperie, qui est refusée à des milliers d'entre les femmes, et ne remplit jamais que quelques années de la vie des autres ?

Rolland believes that women at the present moment are too free, and yet not free enough, and that therein lies the trouble. More free, they would seek ties, and find in them pleasure and security. Less free, they would resign themselves to ties that they knew they could not break, and by so doing suffer less. But the worst thing in the world is to have ties which do not bind you, and duties from which you can free yourself. Rolland believes that democracy spells irresponsibility, and although it is, perhaps, putting the case rather strongly, the point deserves consideration. He makes some acute observations on the lot of the woman who is forced to earn her living and to live alone, and is thus condemned to solitude without obtaining any of its benefits.

No conclusion is reached, except that it is much more difficult to be a woman satisfactorily than it is to be a man. A man can absorb himself in some intellectual passion, or in some activity. Only seldom can a woman do that without suffering. Life, indeed, is not a simple matter for any of us, but Rolland believes that if men and women would think a little less of themselves, and a little more of each other, the solution of the problem would be brought nearer.

Christophe's *liaison* with a great actress calls forth some excellent remarks on the art of the stage. Rolland characterises it as the most perfect of the arts, the 'instrument tragique du rêve humain,' compares it to fresco-painting, art in its place, and therefore the human art *par excellence*, because it is the living art. In much contemporary art Rolland finds that the veil is torn aside from all the mysteries of the heart, and that there is only too often a lack of modesty and a lack of taste. Jean-Christophe dreamed dreams of remedying this deplorable condition, at least in music, and projected a 'Sinfonia Domestica' very different from that of Richard Strauss. He would not attempt

'à décrire ni des personnages, ni des actions, mais à dire des émotions, qui fussent connues de chacun, et où chacun pût trouver un écho de son âme propre, peut-être un réconfort.'

The first movement would express 'le grave et naïf bonheur d'un jeune couple amoureux, sa tendre sensualité, sa confiance dans l'avenir, sa joie et ses espoirs.' The second movement would be a lament

for the death of a child, but there would be nothing realistic in it, no individual figures :

'il n'y avait qu'une grande misère,—la vôtre, la mienne, celle de tout homme, en face d'un malheur qui est ou qui peut être le lot de tous. L'âme atterrée par ce deuil se relevait peu à peu par un douloureux effort, pour offrir sa souffrance en sacrifice à Dieu.'

There is a fine appreciative passage on Dickens, whom one of the women characters eagerly reads in a French translation. Rolland hits the nail on the head when he says, 'les gens d'aujourd'hui qui lisent vite et mal ne savent plus la force merveilleuse qui rayonne des beaux livres que l'on boit lentement.' It is difficult nowadays to persuade anyone to read long books,—I have heard young people offer one phrase of criticism on such works as 'Childe Harold,' and the novels of Scott and Dickens—their length !

Mme. Tinayre's latest novel, 'L'Ombre de l'Amour,' might have had for a motto 'Pity is akin to love.' Love may conceivably be born of pity, or pity of love, but here pity would seem to be a substitute for love, and so inevitably spells disaster. A woman out of pity gives herself to the consumptive hero on his death-bed, and a girl for a similar reason, a girl of deep religious conviction and feeling, reclaims, as she thinks, a brutal poacher. He, however, ruins her, his physical strength making resistance on the girl's part futile, and when she finds she is to become a mother, she drowns herself. Mme. Tinayre does not, of course, put the facts baldly in this fashion.

She wraps them round with much art, and much beautiful writing. But notwithstanding the great literary charm of the book, the characters and their actions do not carry conviction. A woman who, like Denise, had reached her twenty-eighth year, brought up by her father, a sceptic, a doctor, a man of scientific attainment and great common sense, would not have been likely to act towards Jean as she did. She would have realized that Jean was only in love with her because no other younger or more attractive woman was at hand, and because her admirable nursing made her indispensable to him. Perhaps it is only the exceptional woman who is a good judge of her admirers, and Denise in allowing herself to be moved '*par cette adoration perpétuelle qui la suit et l'enveloppe*' was only acting after her kind. But I suspect Mme. Tinayre means Denise to be an exceptional woman. Maybe the point is not worth discussion, and in the hands of a less accomplished writer would attract no attention. But the invalid hero is not a type to be encouraged, and the similarity of a scene in this book with one in a novel of Zola, and in a German novel less known to fame, make me ask myself once again whether such abnormal types should form the heroes and heroines of our novels.

The book contains some admirable descriptions of village customs and superstitions, which seem to linger longer in France than in England, the Roman Catholic religion, perhaps, accounting somewhat for the fact.

A little book entitled '*Le livre d'Heures*,' by M. H. Jorys, gave me a couple of hours' pure

enjoyment. There is no story to speak of, no profound thought, perhaps, but the great charm of the style and the fine point of the wit are inimitable. It reminds me of the best conversation of cultivated French men and women. The hero is a middle-aged student who loses his eyesight, and the heroine, a young woman, is a student, too, in a sort of dilettante way. The two fall in love, and in the process talk about everything that affects human beings. The delicate handling of the situations, and of the phases of feeling is masterly.

Pierre Mille's volume of short stories '*La Biche Ecrasée*' proves that the art of which Maupassant is perhaps the finest exponent, is still alive in France. The stories are not all pleasant, neither are some of them suitable reading for the young, but for artistic skill, for sustained interest, for psychological exposition in brief compass, they are admirable. The story that gives the volume its title, with its frank cynicism relieved by one touch of pathos, is sufficiently striking, but the best is a tale entitled '*Le Secret*,' in which a husband and wife each discover separately that their baby is deaf and dumb, and then hating to hurt each other, and each thinking that the other has not found out the calamity, keep silence about it. One day an accident reveals what they each have known so long. The relief at the discovery, and the various conditions of mind previous to it, are most skilfully depicted.

'*Le Chateau de la Belle-au-Bois Dormant*,' by Pierre Loti, is likewise a volume of short stories, or rather sketches, chiefly reminiscent of Loti's

childhood and youth. He cannot reconcile himself to the progress of time, and is for ever lamenting the time that is past and gone. The mood naturally induces melancholy in the reader, and sometimes even somnolence. Even though he may be middle-aged, Loti can do better than this, and we refuse to believe that, as he hints in his preface, it is to be his last production.

In 'Quellen im Sande,' by C. G. Reuling, we have a German novel of reasonable length. The theme is akin to that of Goethe's 'Wahlverwandtschaften.' The portrait of the egoistical professor who domineers over his wife, is most cleverly drawn. He actually saves himself and his little boy by means of a raft of his own fashioning during a terrible flood, coolly leaving his wife behind in the almost submerged house, since the raft would not hold three persons, promising to return for her later. And he does this from no desire to be rid of his wife, of whom he is very fond, but because he really thinks she is the least important of the three. She is rescued by a friend, a man with whom she afterwards falls in love, and she determines to divorce her husband. But she gives up the notion before any harm is done for the sake of her little boy, and consents to go on with her old life. As a matter of fact the two wives in the story care more for their children than for husband or lover: in the one case it made for the right, but in the other the mother's persistent love for her dead children brought ruin to her husband. The description of the flood is admirable; but the episodes of Berlin life are poor and crude.

Clara Viebig has again published a volume of short stories dealing with village life in the Eifel district. There are seven stories in the volume, which is entitled 'Die heilige Einfalt.' They are for the most part tragedies, in which pity plays a bigger part than terror, for the pathos lies in the belief in good that is ingrain in many simple hearts. Although we become interested in the psychology of these simple souls and say, as we read, 'Oh, the pity of it!' we cannot help feeling at the same time that it is not all the truth, and that there must be a brighter side to village life, even in the Eifel. The literary skill and beautiful style of the tales is indisputable.

The most important recent work in French belle-lettres is Jules Lemaître's 'Fénelon.' It is a difficult book to describe, and it lacks something of the charm of his 'Rousseau' or 'Racine.' Lemaître states that the lectures on Rousseau led him to those on Fénelon. Indeed, he puts Fénelon, Rousseau, and Chateaubriand together as a spiritual dynasty, 'une dynastie de rêveurs, d'inquiets, et d'inventeurs.' Fénelon, M. Lemaître declares, is not easy to know, and cannot be summed up in a formula. Everyone must admit that he was an infinitely attractive man, for no one was perhaps more ardently and faithfully loved, and his friends were certainly of the elect of the earth. The conclusion reached is that Fénelon was before all a mystic, but, like St. Catherine of Siena and St. Theresa, 'un mystique actif.' Such combination of the contemplative with the administrative power, of the passive with the active, so to speak, is rare.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are those dealing with Mme. Guyon and with quietism. The account of what quietism exactly is and means, is excellent. In the desire to confess himself, as in his views on education, Fénelon was a forerunner of Rousseau, while in subordinating reason to feeling, he presages Chateaubriand. It is the light thus thrown on literary evolution that makes the work of these French critics so valuable.

Foreigners continue their studies of English writers. I need not more than mention here Feuillerat's book on 'John Lyly,' for since it is published in England, it has gained general notice in the press. Paul Gallimard who is engaged in a study of the genius of Keats, and of the literary movement of England between 1800 and 1820 has just issued a complete translation of Keats's poems. It is always difficult to judge the quality of a translation of a poet one knows and greatly loves, but M. Gallimard's version proves him to be a careful student, and to possess the right feeling for the beauty of Keats's poetry.

But more interesting is Maeterlinck's prose translation of and introduction to *Macbeth*. Of the former I will again say nothing, but that it may serve for those who know no English. The introduction, however, is a suggestive piece of criticism. Maeterlinck feels deeply the wonder of the language of the play, its fine imagery, and the deep hidden springs of thought that lie beneath the spoken words. It is not the external, but the internal that interests: the crime is no more, he finds, than an occasion or pretext; its committal brings to the

surface a life born of depths that no less terrible act would have penetrated. Maeterlinck's point of view here as everywhere is that of the mystic. But he expresses a great truth about Shakespeare's characters, one that all lovers and students of the great dramatist hold, when he writes, 'on croit les connaître, mais ils demeurent toujours inattendus.' I quote his general summing up in full:

'Après avoir parcouru ce qui survit, marqué de l'approbation des siècles, dans tous les théâtres que connaissent les littératures,—exceptant seulement celui de Shakespeare même,—qui oserait signaler une œuvre dramatique qui égale les trois premiers actes de *Macbeth*? On lira dans Corneille et Racine des scènes plus touchantes, plus nobles, plus héroïques ou plus harmonieuses; et chez les tragiques grecs, plus pures et plus grandioses. Peut-être même en rencontrera-t-on deux ou trois, parmi les contemporains du poète,—Webster, Beaumont et Fletcher et John Ford,—où la situation est plus âpre encore et plus poignante. On en trouvera sans doute, chez Goethe et chez nos modernes, qui sont plus savamment conduites et où les pensées, en tant que pensées pures, sont plus vastes et plus élevées. Mais nulle part on ne découvrira trois actes dont la substance tragique soit aussi dense, aussi sombrement plantureuse, aussi naturellement profonde; où, tout en demeurant aussi simple, aussi journalière, en apparence elle soit cependant d'une qualité poétique aussi haute, aussi ardente, aussi précieuse. Nulle part on ne contempera un groupe humain, entouré de son atmosphère propre, qui prolonge dans les mots, dans le livre et sur la scène, son existence effrayante et secrète, à la façon de ce groupe-ci. Voilà le grand mystère et la merveille de *Macbeth*.'

A delightful study of fairies in the literature of all lands, from Merlin and the Breton Cycle down

to Hans Andersen, may be found in Mme. Lucie Félix-Faure Goyau's 'La vie et la mort des fées: Essai d'histoire littéraire.' The author gives a great extension to the term 'fairy':

'Si je m'attache au symbole des fées, c'est pour ce qu'il renferme, de psychologie humaine et spécialement féminine, c'est pour les reflets de vérité que, comme un miroir imparfait, nous renvoie cette fiction. N'y a-t-il pas des êtres humains dont l'existence, également, est une fiction? Des êtres dont l'âme n'habite que le monde du paraître, et qui ne réservent rien pour celui de l'être?'

English literature plays a large part. There is a chapter on Spenser, in which the Faery Queen is characterised as 'la féerie polemique,' and on Shakespeare, where it is said that nothing is more individual than 'la féerie Shakespearienne.' The 'fairies' in Keats, Shelley, and Tennyson are treated in much detail. The subject certainly gains from the lightness of touch that belongs essentially to a woman of taste and cultivation. Mme. Goyau's study is full of suggestion. She appeals more to the human element in her subject than to its folklore or scientific aspect. And as would seem inevitable in these modern days of material storm and stress, she ends on a note of melancholy.

'Ce monde n'appartient plus aux fées; n'ayant aucune prise sur lui, elles sont réduites à l'ignorer. Aussi c'est en vain qu'elles pleurent et se réjouissent: rien n'est grand, sinon ce qui vient de l'âme pour aller à l'âme.'

The new book by Jean-Edouard Spenlé on 'Rahel Mme. Varnhagen von Ense' is somewhat of a disappointment. It purports to be the history of a 'salon romantique en Allemagne,' and to some

extent it is. But Rahel's fascinating personality is over-weighted by the mass of not very well digested detail with which it is surrounded. Is it indeed ever possible to reproduce the spirit of these salons, dependent as they were for their very existence on the charm and personality of an individual? And of Rahel's personality it has been said that it was incomparable, and to it are applied her own words, 'unique au monde, autant que la plus grande des merveilles.' The book is certainly full of information, even if it lacks the literary touch that gives life to such studies.

To some extent Maspero's new book, 'Ruines et Paysages d'Egypte,' may be regarded as a companion volume to his 'Causeries d'Egypte,' published in 1908. The later volume deals more with the aspect of modern Egypt. He notes in his voyages up and down the Nile the changes, progress or decay as the case may be, of the various places he passes. In many ways these impressions of modern Egypt help to the right understanding and appreciation of ancient Egypt. Maspero describes in delightful fashion how some of the scenes that pass before him might have walked out of the paintings in the tombs, and shows how all the modern civilization in the world cannot stamp out the old Egypt. It is the case of the trained observer pointing out a thousand things the ordinary man would pass by. Most attractive is it to have such places as Siout, Rodah, Kench, Denderah, Esneh, Edfou, Assouan, Louxor, and Philae described both in their modern aspect, and in relation to their ancient history and monuments.

A pamphlet by Joczsa Savits (formerly director of the Shakespeare Theatre in Munich) on 'Das Natur-Theater' contains much that is interesting. It is an essay on the particular advantages of the open-air theatre, with special references to those of Thale, in the Harz, and of Hertenstein, near Lucerne. It is shown that all dramatic performances began in the open air, and that in Germany, in comparatively modern days, Klopstock and Goethe favoured them. It is not possible to state here all the arguments brought forward by Herr Savits in support of open-air performances, but one interesting piece of psychology may well be mentioned. He declares that it is a much better thing that the spectators of a drama should be able to see each other, and so note the effect of the play on the audience, as is of course impossible in the darkened auditoriums that now prevail. He believes that thereby the dramatic enjoyment, pleasure in the tragic and delight in the comic, are enhanced and strengthened, and that at the climax of the play there is brought about a momentary ideal condition of equality and fraternity among the spectators. Whether this is true or not I cannot undertake to say, but some of us are seriously disturbed by the darkness of our modern theatres, a darkness that is fast extending from the auditorium to the stage itself, where often through a whole act it is impossible to distinguish the faces or gestures of the actors, or to see where they are on the stage.

I should like to draw the attention of students to an admirable series of French critical editions of poets and prose-writers now being issued under the

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auspices of the 'Société des Textes français modernes.' For the small annual subscription of ten francs members receive the volumes as they appear. They are edited by distinguished scholars who cast their net widely, for the volumes I have seen extend from 'Maître Pathelin' to Sénancour. Sixteenth century poets, most often so difficult to obtain either in contemporary or modern editions, are especially dealt with. Joachim du Bellay and Antoine Héroet are already published, and a complete edition of Ronsard with a good text is promised.

I have also received a specimen of the books issued by the 'Deutsche Dichter-Gedächtnis-Stiftung.' This is a society whose object is to issue at a low price reprints of carefully chosen works of German literature so as to spread a knowledge of the best books among the people. Dr. Ernst Schultze, who is evidently a reader of 'THE LIBRARY,' has sent me a volume containing a story by Paul Heyse. It costs fourpence, it is of 136 pages, beautifully printed on good paper with a frontispiece by Ernst Liebermann—admirable black and white work, it goes without saying—a portrait of the author, and an excellent two-page introduction by Adalbert Meinhardt. For a small subscription, beginning as low as two shillings a year, members of the society receive the publications, which include examples by many modern German writers whose works are expensive to purchase in the ordinary way. Some of the smaller Free Libraries, and certainly school libraries in this country, wishing to collect good German books,

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may find such volumes useful. They are chosen by a committee of distinguished literary men, and so an English librarian whose knowledge of German is slight, need have no fears in putting them on his shelves.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Amitiés de Reine. Par Jacques de la Faye.
With a preface by the Marquis de Ségur.

A chronicle of the private life of Marie Antoinette with a few excursions into the domain of her political life. It contains some new material.

Savants et Écrivains. Par H. Poincaré.

Essays chiefly on men of science, Lord Kelvin among them, with the author's 'discours de réception' at the French Academy on the poet Sully Prudhomme.

Les Idées de Stendhal. Par Jean Mélia.

A complement to the same author's 'La vie amoureuse de Stendhal,' and a minute study of Stendhal's 'Beylisme,' *i.e.* his belief that happiness consists in an exact knowledge of the circumstances of facts.

Bibliographie Critique et raisonnée des Ana français et étrangers. Par A. F. Aude.

There are brief notes on the volumes, some of which are very rare and curious.

Le Théâtre des Poètes, 1850-1910. Par J. Ernest-Charles.

A short history of the poetic drama in France during the past sixty years. It begins with Ponsard and Augier and ends with Rostand. 'L'humanité vient d'elle-même se rafraîchir à cette source française, car elle est douce, elle est pure, et elle est vivifiante.'

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Agrippa d'Aubigné. Par S. Rocheblave.

A volume of the series 'Les grands écrivains français.' An excellent account of a man who was 'un poète épico-lyrique, un historien moraliste et politique, un romancier satirique,' one of the most fertile writers of his time, and thus most difficult to classify.

Le marquis de Bièvre, sa vie, ses calembours, ses comédies. 1747-89. Par Comte Gabriel Mareschal de Bièvre.

A biography that adds something to the picture of a vanished society. Bièvre was one of those 'gentilshommes lettrés, spirituels et frondeurs, qui, les yeux bandés, couraient à la Révolution.'

L'Amiral D'Estaing. 1729-94. Par M. Calmon-Maison.

A full and careful biography.

Der Junge de Spinoza. Leben und Werdegang im Lichte der Weltphilosophie. Von Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski S. J.

Treats of Spinoza's life up to 1656, the year of his expulsion from the synagogue. A second volume will follow entitled 'Die Reife.'

Anthologie des Prosateurs Français contemporains (1850 à nos jours), Par Georges Pellissier. Les Romanciers.

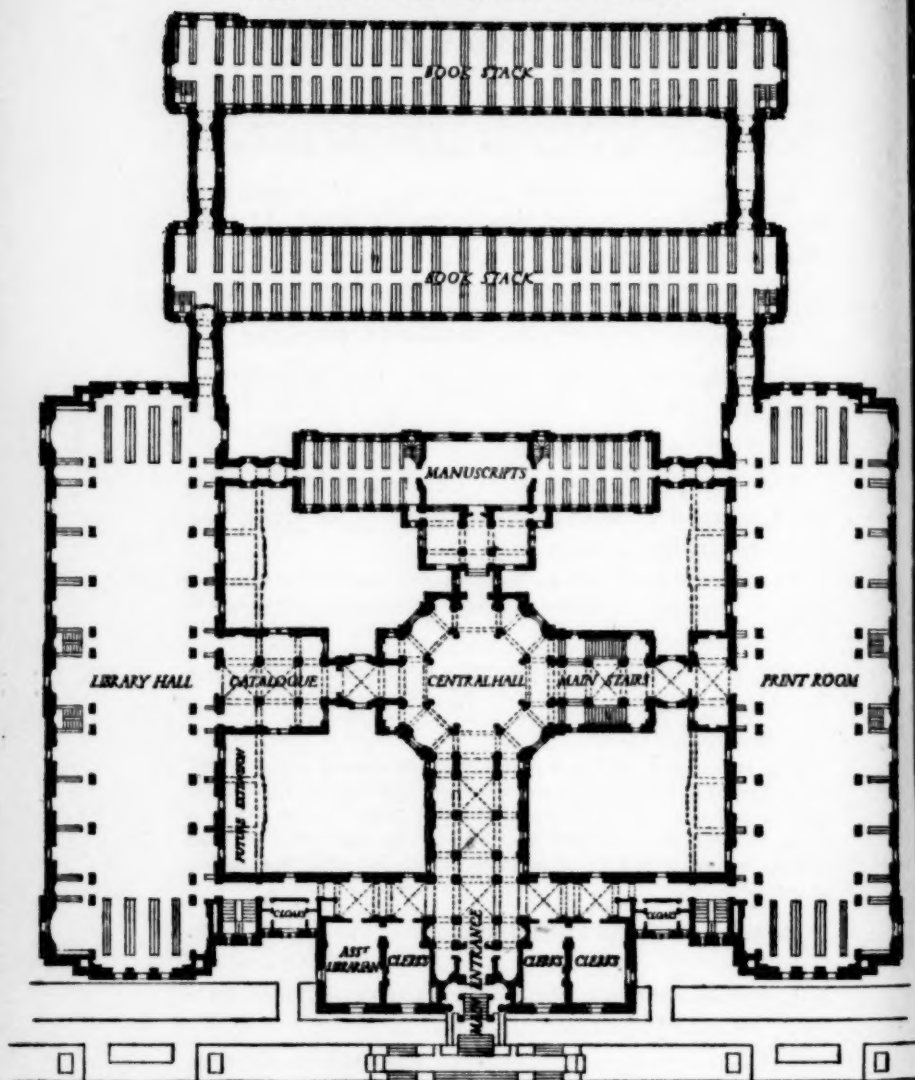
The first volume of a new series most excellently edited with a brief general introduction, and a brief biographical, bibliographical, and critical note to each author selected from Victor Hugo to Mme. de Noailles. It will be followed by two more volumes dealing in similar fashion with prose writers in other departments of literature.

Nouvelles Pages anthologiques. Par G. Walch. Vol. I.

A selection excellently edited from the works of minor nineteenth century poets.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES.



PLAN OF THE MAIN FLOOR

Scale: 1/4" = 1' 0"

SYDNEY K. GREENSLADE, A.R.I.B.A., Architect.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES.

II.

THE collections of Sir John Williams described in the last number of 'THE LIBRARY' form the foundation of the Library, and he will always be reckoned its first and greatest benefactor. The transfer of his books and manuscripts to the temporary building was speedily followed by other contributions, large and small, from a great many sources. The aggregate for the year and a half since operations commenced is considerable, and shows that the need for such a library in Wales is recognized, and that it carries the goodwill not only of the people of Wales, but also of a large number of people, institutions, and public bodies outside the principality. Celtic scholars, and those engaged in Celtic studies in Europe and America, have received with satisfaction the news that a Library has been founded whose first care will be the collection and preservation of everything relating to the Celtic peoples and languages, and many of them have sent their own writings, and such other things as they could spare, to fill up gaps in the Library. Such contributions are especially welcome. Celtic literature is issued from so many centres in Great Britain, Brittany, France,

Germany, and America, that there is difficulty in finding out what has been published. The voluntary gifts, accompanied by pleasant words of greeting from abroad, have been very gratifying to the Council of the Library. Nor have people and institutions at home been behindhand. Help has been received from all parts of the United Kingdom, not only from those interested in Celtic studies, but also from others, encouraged, no doubt, by the splendid way in which the Welsh people have shown their earnestness by giving money and books.

The aim of the Library may be briefly, though imperfectly, summed up as follows, viz.:

I. That it shall offer to the people residing in Wales opportunities for study and research in all departments of knowledge similar to those afforded by other national libraries. It will collect, therefore, books on all subjects, in English and other languages.

II. That it shall collect all the works of Welshmen and Welshwomen of all ages; everything about Wales, and the Welsh people at home and abroad; and books in all the Celtic languages (Welsh, Gaelic, Manx, Breton, and Cornish), and all books dealing with Celtic matters.

This programme, as will readily be seen, falls naturally into two divisions, the encouragement of higher studies in Wales, and the formation of a special library for Celtic studies.

The organization of the Library is necessarily

not complete, but so far as it has gone, the scheme comprises five departments, viz. :

- I. Manuscripts.
Local Manuscript Records.
- II. Printed Books :
 - (a) Main Library ;
 - (b) Celtic Books and Journals ;
 - (c) Newspapers and Periodicals published in Wales.
- III. Prints and Drawings, Maps, etc.
- IV. Music.
- V. Documents.

It may be desirable to refer a little more fully to the several departments.

The first division, Manuscripts, leaped at the outset into a position of first-class importance, largely through the foresight and munificence of Sir John Williams, who had purchased the Hengwrt and Peniarth manuscripts, the premier Welsh collection, and also the Shirburn Welsh manuscripts. To these a considerable number of manuscripts from various sources have been added, and the department is steadily growing. Though Celtic manuscripts will necessarily be the chief quest, other manuscripts useful for comparison, or desirable for their beauty and other characteristics, will be included, if they can be obtained.

The Department of Manuscripts includes a subdivision for local manuscript records. A very large consignment of records coming within this definition has already been received from the Public

Record Office. These were collected from Wales more than half a century ago by the Officers of Public Records, and it was well they did so, or long ere this most of them would have been destroyed or ruined. At that time there was no safe repository in Wales to which they could be sent for preservation. A very large body of local records still remains in the custody of various persons in Wales, which it is desirable to bring together and preserve. Some custodians of such records have already deposited them in the National Library for safe keeping, and others will follow as the importance of securing them from risks becomes recognised. We have also a good number of deeds of property, probates of wills, etc., from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth.

Under the head of Printed Books is included the main library, which will cover every branch of knowledge, the Celtic library, the scope of which has already been described, and the newspapers and periodicals, printed and published in Wales and Monmouthshire. With regard to the last it is gratifying to state that almost without exception the publishers of newspapers and periodicals throughout the thirteen counties supply gratis a copy of each issue to be filed, and in many cases they have assisted to make up back issues. Some progress has also been made in procuring the numerous parish magazines and other local and localized periodicals published by religious communities. These contain information which will be invaluable to the historian; but, I confess, it is difficult to persuade many of those responsible for

their production that they are worth preserving in the National Library. We mean to persevere, however, and hope to reap the blessings of future literary workers.

The Department of Prints and Drawings, Maps, etc., is already well started, having a large number of topographical prints and drawings, and some portraits, relating to the thirteen counties, as well as prints and drawings of antiquities and other subjects, and a fair collection of the maps prior to 1800. This department will ultimately include a full set of ordnance and geological maps of the United Kingdom. Efforts will also be made to obtain good examples of the different styles of engraving and other methods of reproduction, and illustrations of places, objects, people, events, manners, customs, and other things relating to the history and the life of the Celtic races.

For the present, at any rate, the division Music will be confined to the music of the Celtic peoples, printed and in manuscript, and to Folk Song and similar music of other countries likely to be useful for comparative study. The literature of music will, however, be selected on a wider basis in the main library.

There remains the Department of Documents, a section in which it is hoped to make a collection of things mainly for future use. By way of illustration of what is intended, the Thomason collection of Civil War Tracts may be cited. These ephemeral publications of a troubled time are individually of restricted interest, but arranged chronologically as they are in the valuable catalogue issued

a couple of years ago by the British Museum, they form a record, as Carlyle said, 'Worth all the sheepskins.' I read through all the titles in the two large volumes of the catalogue, when it appeared. The result was a realisation of the movements and events of the Civil War period such as no modern history conveys. The marchings and battles, the shifting scenes of conflict, the rise of passions, the outpourings of enthusiasts on both sides—the emphasis which each side laid on its successes, the satires, the gibes, and a thousand other things, make up a procession which moves across the stage of life in the most realistic way. If carefully collected over a long series of years, and arranged under subjects, or topographically, whichever may be best for each item, the flotsam and jetsam of to-day will be the gold-dust of the future. The report of a church or chapel, of a football, hockey, or golf club, the rules of a trade, benefit, or friendly society, the programme of a concert or an eisteddfod, and similar publications, may individually be of only temporary value, but collected together and classified, they will have some day a priceless value. Such a collection will be of service to the future in a multitude of ways. Take, for example, reports and other printed matter relating to places of worship. They will serve for the history of a particular place of worship, for the history of the town or parish where it is situated, for the history of the religious community to which it belongs, and for the general history of religion in Wales.

In this collection everything, however trifling it may appear, will be preserved. Local ballads, for

instance, often deal with events of which there is no other record. One such case occurred recently. A sheep-dog on the Plinlymmon range took to sheep-killing, and wrought great havoc, but defied all efforts to track and destroy it. Ultimately Sir Edward Webley-Parry-Pryse of Gogerddan took out his hounds, ran it down, and it was killed, to the great relief of the farmers. A local poet narrated the event in rhyme, which was printed on a broadside. The circulation was entirely local, yet there is an element of romance in the story sufficient to furnish a modern six-shilling novel.

There are many other classes of publications coming within the scope of this department, but sufficient has been written to explain the design, and one further illustration must suffice. We are trying to collect all 'Particulars' relating to property sold by auction. These often contain place-names, field-names, and other details of considerable value, while they are a record of the dates when properties change hands, and will in many cases be useful for local and family history.

The comparatively small area and population of Wales, and the difference of language, modes of thought, and life of its people from the other parts of the United Kingdom, make the collection of such materials for history as have been indicated, specially interesting, and not too difficult to classify and store. The success or failure of the attempt depends upon the regular assistance of those in a position to send such publications to the Library. The will to help exists, the appreciation of the importance of sending *everything* will come in time.

The earlier we can convince people of this, the richer the collection will become.

Wales presented unusual difficulties with regard to the place where the National Library should be established. The choice finally lay between Cardiff and Aberystwyth, and the latter was chosen by a Committee of the Privy Council, after full consideration of the facts submitted in support of each place.

It may safely be said that wherever the site of the Library, it would be remote and difficult to reach from many parts of the Principality. On the whole the decision to place it in the most important town near the centre of Wales is a wise solution. Aberystwyth is the seat of the oldest of the three university colleges which constitute the University of Wales, and modern Welsh sentiment attaches itself to Aberystwyth more than to any other town.

Cardiff, or some other town in Glamorgan, would have the advantage of a large surrounding population, but experience shows that the literary activity of Wales flourishes more outside the busy industrial centres than in them. And, too, there are good libraries at Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport, while the whole of North, Mid, and West Wales is absolutely destitute of libraries of any size.

One thing is quite clear: the special circumstances of Wales must be met by special arrangements for the use of the books in the National Library. It is found that research workers who wish to use manuscripts and rare books can and do visit Aberystwyth for the purpose. When they are unable to do so, or where the references re-

quired are so brief as not to make a journey feasible, between the staffs of the Library and the College it is always possible to get the required copying or verifications made for quite moderate charges. There remains, however, a large number of people engaged in literary work, in teaching, and in preparing knowledge to be imparted to others in one form or another, who for want of time, want of means, or lack of urgency, are unable to visit the Library. The books they require are not rare books, but the standard books, which, owing to the absence of even average libraries, they are unable to obtain. To meet this difficulty it is intended to form a library of duplicates, available under certain conditions for circulation. This is the only way of meeting a difficulty which is partly financial—Wales is a poor country—and largely geographical. To ignore these facts would mean that the advantages of the National Library will be denied to many who will, with the aid of the intended circulating department, do better work than they otherwise could.

Plans for the permanent building were obtained by inviting six architects to submit designs in accordance with a printed programme, drawn up by the librarian and a small committee, which set out fully the requirements.

The six sets of designs were adjudicated upon by a board of three persons, that is to say, a professional assessor nominated by the President of the Institute of British Architects, and the president and librarian.

The result was satisfactory. The award of the board was accepted without a question, and there

can be no doubt that the scheme prepared by the successful architect, Mr. Sydney K. Greenslade, will greatly influence library planning in the future. The key-note of his scheme is the book-stack, so placed that extension to the rear can be easily secured by the erection of a second and a third stack. The three stacks will provide for well over a million volumes, which with the storage in other parts of the building will give a total bookspace of from a million and a half to two millions. When, if ever, this limit is reached, there will be ample scope for a further scheme of book-stacks to be planned on the site.

The Library has been unusually fortunate with regard to the site, which is on a plateau overlooking the town, and commanding extensive views of Cardigan Bay and the Vale of Rheidol, while hills rise at a respectful distance behind. Close to the town, yet clear of all buildings, the National Library will stand out boldly and be seen from many points far and near.

For the building and its accessories Lord Rendel has generously given rather over six acres of land. Thanks to this munificent gift, it has been possible to design a building free from those restrictions which generally prevail owing to the fact that libraries are usually erected on crowded town sites. Here, on the contrary, the architect has a perfectly free hand, and is at liberty to make the utmost use of daylight, air, space, and other advantages.

This Mr. Greenslade has done. By arranging his buildings in the form of a square, he secures the great advantage of developing the book-stacks as

required, without interfering with the main buildings, and at the same time secures the maximum of light and air.

The essential features of the plan are: (1) The Administration Block, which is in front; (2) the Library Hall; (3) the Exhibition Hall, with a print room on the main floor and exhibition rooms above; (4) the Manuscript Department, self-contained and isolated; (5) the Book-stacks, also isolated; and (6) the Central Hall, through which visitors must pass to reach each section.

All readers will be on the main floor. The only other part of the building to which the public will have access will be the exhibition rooms, approached by a main staircase from the Central Hall.

Below the main floor is another floor on the ground level, nine feet in height, which will be the principal working space for the staff, and for the storage of books most in demand, or which for other reasons it is desirable to have near the readers. The space below the Library Hall, for example, is allotted to the storage of bound and current files of newspapers and periodicals. Another part of this floor is given up to Parliamentary papers, specifications of patents, and similar works. The library of duplicate books available for circulation, with the packing, forwarding and receiving rooms connected with this department, will be in the space below the print room.

The dimensions are conceived on a scale commensurate with the importance of a national building. The frontage is 250 ft., and each of the sides is of the same length. The height from floor to ceiling of the Library Hall is 38 ft., and the width

47 ft. Galleries for books are ranged on each side with a centre floor space between the pillars of 28 ft. This hall will store about 130,000 volumes, and give ample space for about sixty readers.

The Department of Manuscripts has been very cleverly dealt with in the plan. Easy of access from the Central Hall, it is at the same time so isolated as to be almost free from all risks of fire, while the space assigned to readers will be well lighted. The lighting of every part of the buildings is a conspicuous feature of the plans.

If at any time the Library should be so fortunate as to receive valuable collections which it is desired to keep together, and to associate with the names of former owners, by way of memorials, provision has been made in the plans for building off the Library Hall and the Print Room special rooms, extending to the inner courts, as shown by the dotted lines on the sketch plan.

Externally the buildings are distinguished by boldness of line, and the severity of treatment necessary to produce a strong, well-defined mass with buildings placed on an elevated position. Special care has been exercised to avoid unsightly roofs and excrescences of all sorts. The dome over the Central Hall will rise to a height of 67 ft.; all the rest of the buildings and the roofs will be subordinated to the dome. More than one architect has told me that externally the buildings will be very fine. The quantity of land available will enable the approaches and surroundings to be of a character suitable to the buildings.

JOHN BALLINGER.

SOME NOTICES OF MEN CONNECTED WITH THE ENGLISH BOOK TRADE FROM THE PLEA ROLLS OF HENRY VII.

IN the course of a search through the Plea Rolls of the reign of Henry VII. at the Public Record Office, a number of references to stationers and others connected with the English book trade have been met. I propose to review them in the following paper; but as a preface I must say a word or two about the documents.

The Plea Rolls are the records of proceedings in the courts of Common Pleas, Exchequer, and King's Bench, or De Banco. As a matter of fact they are not 'rolls' at all, but were probably so termed for convenience' sake, there being many rolled documents such as Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Pipe Rolls, etc. The Plea Rolls are flat skins of vellum, three feet in length by about a foot in width, and each 'roll' consists of between five and six hundred of these skins fastened together at the head, the majority being filled with entries on both sides. Well might Mr. Walter Rye, in his 'Records and Record Searching,' say that 'a lifetime would not be sufficient to search these

Plea Rolls.' Up till the end of the reign of Henry VII. there is one 'roll' for each of the four terms, Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas; but as time went on, and the volume of business in the courts increased, so did the bulk and number of the rolls. Thus, for the reign of Henry VII. there are ninety-four De Banco Rolls, with a total of something like 57,400 skins. For the reign of Henry VIII., when the King's Bench became the Court of Common Pleas, there are 151 Common Plea Rolls, with a total of 102,566 skins, while for Elizabeth's reign, the figures are 518 rolls, with no fewer than 310,800 skins! And these are the records for only one court. Even the most ardent antiquary quails before the magnitude of these figures.

The character of the contents of these rolls is no less forbidding than their vast size and numbers. All kinds of subjects came up for hearing before the judges of the King's Bench, but the bulk of the entries relate to pleas of debt, the details of which are usually left out, but which covered other matters as well as the purchase and sale of goods. These cases sometimes went on for years, and by far the largest number of entries on every roll consist of notices of adjournment, either to some other day in the same term, or to some future term. Occasionally an entry will consist of nothing but a catalogue of such adjournments of the case, and winding up by adding another, and only in a small proportion of the actions recorded on each roll is the history of the dispute given or the final judgment pronounced.

It requires no little steadiness of purpose to deal with these documents. Nor is there any encouragement to follow up any of the brief entries, because it is quite as likely that the case was settled out of court, and one may hunt the roll for the next term or the term to which it was adjourned without coming upon any trace of it, or as an alternative only to find the entry of a further adjournment.

It is then chiefly as a record of the names, trades, and dwelling places of the parties to the actions, that these Plea Rolls are valuable, and the De Banco Rolls of the reign of Henry VII. have yielded some curious entries of this kind. Forty-eight separate notices of persons connected with the booktrade have been found, thirty-five of whom are unmentioned by Mr. E. G. Duff in his 'Century of the English Booktrade.' Of these thirty-five new names nine are those of provincial stationers, one of whom is more particularly described as a bookbinder. Eight of the London men met with are known to us, but the information furnished by these rolls in respect to them is new, if not very startling, and I think it is a distinct gain to have added so large a number to the craft of stationers before 1509.

Taking first of all the provincial men, here is a list of them:

Avery, or Abery, John, stationer, Suffolk. 1502.

Byrde, John, stationer, Bury St. Edmunds. 1506.

Carter, Geoffry, bookbinder, Norwich. 1502.

Gopfeller, or Gopfolker, Lawrence, stationer, Cambridge. 1506.

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- Hill, John, stationer, Bury St. Edmunds. 1506.
 Newlond, Robert, stationer, Hadley, Suffolk. 1491.
 Onge, Walter, stationer, Bury St. Edmunds. 1502.
 Phillips, Thomas, stationer, Leicester. 1490.
 Staesmore, William, stationer, Walsall, Staff. 1492.

The presence of the Monastery and the Grammar School attached to it is sufficient to account for three stationers being found in the town of Bury St. Edmunds at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Nothing appears to be known about these men; they were probably chiefly dealers in writing materials, but, on the other hand, it is quite possible that they dealt in school-books and other literature. The cases in which they were concerned were all pleas of debt, wanting all particulars, the earliest being that brought by a certain Richard Rogers, who is no further described, against Walter Onge, in Easter term, 16 Hen. VII. [*i.e.* 1502], De Banco Roll 956, m. 33 verso, 2nd entry].

Geoffrey Carter, the bookbinder of Norwich, is also unknown in the annals of English bookbinding, but a man of that name, possibly the same, was living in the ward of Wymer in that city in the year 1488, and was appointed one of the commissioners for the collection of the subsidy in that year. [P.R.O. Lay Subsidy 149/187.]

Equally shadowy is the figure of Laurence Gopfellar, Gopsellar, or Gopfolker, who is described as a stationer of Cambridge in 1506. Mr. G. J. Gray has found no trace of him there. The action in this case was brought by his executor, so that

he was dead before 1506; but his will has not been found. He had a namesake, however, who was master of St. Thomas of Acres in London from 1527 to 1558.

About Thomas Phillips of Leicester the information is a little more satisfactory. He was sued by the churchwardens of the parish church of Welford, in the county of Leicester, on a charge of having taken away certain books belonging to the church and sold them at Leicester (Michael 6 Hen. VII. [*i.e.* 1490]. Roll 914, m. 225 recto, 4th entry). The record is provokingly silent as to what the books were, and as the case has not been met with again, it was possibly settled out of court. In connection with this entry Mr. Hartopp, the Leicester antiquary, very kindly made some researches for me in the Merchants Guild Rolls of the city from 1462 to 1492, but without finding any entry of the admission of Thomas Phillips. The event may, however, have taken place before 1462, and all the rolls previous to that date are either missing or illegible. Mr. Hartopp added that there was a man of this name living in Leicester between 1475 and 1491, and that he was alderman of one of the wards in 1484. I am not without hope that time will bring to light something more about this Leicester stationer.

William Staesmore, who is described as both stationer of Walsall, in Staffordshire, and stationer of London, is met with in these plea rolls on several occasions, from which it might be argued that he was a contentious person, but inasmuch as in each case he was the defendant, and all of them were for

debt, he was probably merely impecunious. His first appearance is in Easter term 8 Hen. VII. [*i.e.* 1493], when he was sued by a certain John Waller, junior, for a debt of twenty pounds [De Banco Roll 924, m. 210 recto]. He is next found in 1495, as defendant to an action brought by Robert Hockyns, citizen and grocer of London, to recover a sum of forty pounds [De Banco Roll 934, m. 283 verso]. This is one of the very few instances in which one gets a glimpse of the cause of action. It appears that both parties entered into recognizances to abide the award of certain arbitrators, and the plaintiff declared that Staesmore had not carried out the terms of the award, and had forfeited his bond, which the defendant as strenuously denied, but we are left entirely in the dark as to what the quarrel was all about.

A couple of years later, in Michaelmas, 13 Hen. VII. [*i.e.* 1497], William Staesmore, this time described as 'of Walsale in co. Staff. stacyoner, otherwise called William Staesmore formerly of London stationer,' was defendant with others in an action for debt brought against them by Richard Coke, mercer, of Coventry, possibly for goods supplied [De Banco Roll 942, m. 187 verso, 2nd entry].

Finally, in 1499, Mich. 15 Hen. VII., he appeared to answer Richard Syder, or Sydur, dyer, respecting a debt; or to be more correct, he ought to have appeared but did not do so, and the record consists of a wearisome succession of adjournments.

We may turn now to those who are particularly

mentioned as stationers of London, or who are known to us as London men. About 1496 a certain Jean Barbier with Julyan Notary, and a third printer, J. H., printed at the sign of St. Thomas the Apostle a 'Questiones Alberti' and a Sarum 'Horae' [Duff, 'Century,' p. 8]. Jean Barbier is found later on printing in Paris, and it has been generally assumed, quite reasonably, that he was a Frenchman. But on the De Banco Roll for Easter, 16 Henry VII., there is the record of an action brought by one 'Ham: Warnekes' against 'Johannem Barbour nuper de Coventre berebrewer alias dictum Johannem Barbier nuper de Coventre prenter.' As usual, where we want most information, the least is vouchsafed to us. The action was to recover a debt of seven pounds, but who Ham: Warnekes the plaintiff was, or what the debt was for, we are left in ignorance. As no other printer of the name of Barbier or Barbier has ever been heard of, we may fairly conclude that the defendant in these proceedings was one of the printers of the 'Questiones Alberti,' especially as enquiries have elicited that there was more than one family of the name of Barber or Barbour in Coventry at that time, and that some of them were described as brewers, although no other mention of John Barbour has been found, and it is impossible at present to say to which family the printer belonged [De Banco Roll 932, m. 277 recto, 11th entry, Easter, 10 Hen. VII.].

Another man who is described as 'stationer of London' is John Bray. His name first appears on the roll for Easter, 10 Hen. VII., *i.e.* 1495, as surety

for William Laton, 'botelmaker,' and from that time onwards throughout the whole of the reign he appears as defendant in a great number of cases brought by all sorts of people. No less than twenty-one entries have been found. In one of these, an action to recover money on a bond, it is stated that Bray farmed the prison known as the Counter in Bread Street from the Goldsmiths Company, and possibly these numerous actions were brought by those who at some time were prisoners there [De Banco Roll 976, m. 508 verso]. He may be identical with the John Bray, bookseller and bookbinder, who is found at Oxford between 1475 and 1482 [Duff, 'Century,' p. 17].

William Buketon, or Bucton, who is recorded by Mr. Duff as working between 1467-72 was still at work in 1489, when he brought an action against Stephen Fabyan, draper, of London, and Robert Fabyan, of Coggeshall in Essex, for the recovery of a small debt [De Banco Roll 910, m. 481 recto, 5th entry]. A reference to Robert Burton in 1492 is interesting from the additional information that he was a bookbinder, and was still alive at that date [De Banco Roll 922, m. 140 verso, 4th entry, Mich. 8 Hen. VII.]. Another stationer who is described as a bookbinder in these rolls, is Robert Frosten, or Frosdeyn, who died in 1486 [De Banco Roll 942, m. 184 recto, last entry].

In the roll for Easter, 20 Hen. VII. [*i.e.*, 1505] is a brief and very unsatisfactory reference to Ingelbert Haghe, of whom very little is known except that he sold books at Hereford. He is here

described as 'stationer and bookseller of London,' and was defendant in a suit brought by no less a person than Margaret Countess of Richmond, the king's mother, to recover the sum of one hundred shillings. It seems to be as certain as anything can be that the cause of this action was something to do with books, and in the hope of getting more information, I spent some six hours in searching the roll for Trinity term, to which the hearing had been adjourned, but without meeting with it. In this case again one can only hope that time will bring to light something more about this lawsuit.

An entry relating to Judocus Pelgrim, found on the roll for Michaelmas term, 12 Hen. VII., is chiefly interesting from the fact that it occurs eight years earlier than any previous mention of this noted bookseller. In company with others he became bound to the sheriff of London, and applied to the court to have his appearance recorded. This is another instance of the tantalizing and unsatisfactory nature of these entries. What these various persons entered into recognizances about is nowhere revealed, and the only additional information is supplied by another entry, in which the names of those who were bound with Pelgrem are set out; but so far as I know none of them had anything to do with the book trade [De Banco Roll 942, m. 376 recto].

Richard Pynson figures in six cases between 1494 and 1505. In the first he was defendant in a suit brought by John Boket, merchant, of the Isle of Wight, to recover a debt of sixty shillings

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[De Banco Roll 928, m. 238 verso, 8th entry, Easter, 9 Hen. VII.]. Again in the same term he was plaintiff against Henry Hunt, clerk, of Essex, and Hubert Hubert, chapman, of London, for the sum of ten pounds [Roll 928, m. 275 recto, 7th entry]. The third suit, in which he was again defendant, was brought against him by one John Isbury, and was for a debt of sixty-six shillings. In this he was described both as 'bokeprynter' of St. Clement Danes, and as 'pouchemaker' [De Banco Roll 938, m. 472, 473]. In 1502 is a record of the action begun against Pynson by Robert Bowering, Robert Fermour, and Christopher St. German, respecting the printing of a law book, the details of which I gave in 'THE LIBRARY' for April, 1909, from the records of the Court of Chancery [De Banco Roll 960, m. 40, last entry]. Again in Easter term of that year he was sued by Henry Carnebull, 'clericus,' for the recovery of a missal priced at ten marks, which the plaintiff said Pynson unjustly detained [Roll 956, m. 47 verso, 958, m. 65 recto.] Finally in 1505 he appears as plaintiff in a suit against Frederick Freisz, bookseller, of York [Trans. Bibl. Soc., vol. v., pp. 87 etc. Paper by Mr. E. G. Duff on the printers, etc., of York], for a debt of five pounds, ten shillings and sixpence, and although no particulars are given we may safely infer that this had something to do with books [De Banco Roll 974, m. 250 recto, m. 297 verso, and 476 recto].

Wynkyn de Worde figures but once on these rolls, in Michaelmas, 20 Hen. VII., *i.e.* 1504, when he was defendant in a suit brought by

a certain Philip Duccarrogis to recover a sum of three pounds, but there is nothing to show how the debt was incurred [Roll 970, m. 31 verso].

Amongst the crowd of unknown stationers whose names are recorded in these rolls, three are specially described as bookbinders, and are worth a moment's notice. The first is William Copeland, of St. Clement Danes parish, mentioned in the roll for Michaelmas, 8 Hen. VII., *i.e.* 1492, who, I am tempted to suggest, may have been the father of Robert Copland, the printer at the Rose Garland in Fleet Street, who worked from 1508 till 1548 [Duff, 'Century,' p. 31]. The next is Henry Cony, who was sued for debt by a certain James Ramys in Easter term, 15 Hen. VII., and who may possibly be identical with the H. C. bookbinder mentioned by Mr. Duff in his 'Century' (p. 20) as using 'a broad ornamental roll with his initials interlaced and surmounted by his mark, besides flowers and fabulous animals.' The third is William Herman, also of St. Clement Danes parish, who, in Michaelmas term, 18 Hen. VII., was with his wife Joane defendant in an action for assault brought by Gilbert Macraf and Elizabeth his wife [De Banco Roll 962, m. 43 recto].

To sum up the foregoing review, while it must be admitted that the information recorded on these De Banco Rolls is imperfect, and leaves much to be desired, yet what has been found is not wholly without interest, and may in time to come prove of some value to the student of the English book trade. In this hope I have added as a

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supplement a list of those stationers in London not otherwise dealt with in this article.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

NEW REFERENCES TO STATIONERS IN LONDON, 1486-1505.

Name.	Date.	Reference.
Barell, John -	1486	Roll 896, m. 23
Barker, William -	1490	- 914, m. 298 v.
Bottisford, John -	1500	- 954, m. 110 r.
Colson, John (Westminster) -	1494	- 928, m. 42 r.
Do. -	do.	- 928, m. 282 r.
Cosyn, Thomas -	1490	- 914, m. 298 v.
Dunton, Thomas -	1508	- 986, m. 33 r.
Falsfield, Richard -	1489	- 910, m. 224 r.
Gilbert, Edward -	1496	- 936, m. 285 v.
Harfeld, William -	1505	- 970, m. 123 r.
Hebbys, Roger -	1492	- 920, m. 24 r.
Do. -	do.	- 928, m. 22 r.
Hebson, John -	1491	- 918, m. 85 r.
Kempe, Thomas -	1489	- 910, m. 309 r.
Do. -	do.	- 910, m. 484 v.
Naseby, John -	1486	- 898, m. 16 r.
Nawedon, Richard -	1489	- 910, m. 56 r.
Pynne, Stephen -	1498	- 944, m. 16 r.
Do. -	do.	- 982, m. 33 r.
Do. -	do.	- 982, m. 96 r.
Rowley, John -	1499	- 950, m. 491 v.
Sampson, John -	1498	- 948, m. 193 r.
Shirwyn, William -	1500	- 952, m. 328 r.

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Slaughter, James	-	1495-1504	Roll 934, m. 466 r.
Do.	-	do.	- 934, m. 32 v.
Do.	-	do.	- 942, m. 28 r.
Do.	-	do.	- 968, m. 567 r.
Westam, Richard	-	1505	- 968, m. 284 r.

NOTE.—In the above references m signifies 'membrane,' r 'recto,' and v 'verso.'

JOHN PHILLIP—NOTES FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

IT is not every day that an entirely unknown comedy of the mid sixteenth century swims into the ken of the dramatic historian. When it does he may set about observing its peculiarities with whatever degree of interest he pleases, but if he is wise he will not expect any very great amount of entertainment from its perusal. He will know, if not by sad, at least by weary, experience that little that is enlivening was produced in the period of dramatic experiment which came to an end somewhere about 1580. And certainly the latest addition to our collection forms no exception to the rule. 'The Commodye of pacient and meeke Grissill, whearin is declared, the good example of her pacience towards her Husband, and lykewise the due obedience of Children toward their Parentes, newly compiled by Iohn Phillip' is a play in which the author, taking his subject from one of the great storehouses of romantic fable, has sought to add moral weight to his theme by retaining some of the abstract characters of the already vanishing allegorical drama. He signally failed to achieve that new form of theatrical expression after

¹ Reprinted for the Malone Society, October 1909.

which his contemporaries were striving, but he nevertheless remains a sufficiently interesting figure to make us wonder who he was and what position he occupied in the motley world of Elizabethan letters.

In the forty-fifth volume of the Dictionary of National Biography will be found the following notice :

Philip, John (*f.* 1566), author, produced in 1566 three black-letter tracts, chiefly in doggerel verse, describing the curious trial at Chelmsford of three witches, Elizabeth Frauncis, Agnes Waterhouse, and the latter's daughter Joan, a girl of eighteen. Mrs. Waterhouse was burnt to death on 29 July 1566. [There follows a slight description of the tracts.] A new edition [of the 'first tract'] was entered to Thomas Lawe, 15 July 1589 . . .

The authorities for this notice are given as Philip's Tracts and Collier's Bibliographical Catalogue.

Further on in the same volume occurs another notice, the biographical essence of which may be extracted as follows :

Phillips, Philips, or Phillyps, John (*f.* 1570-1591), author, who should be distinguished from John Philip (*f.* 1566) [*q.v.*], was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge . . . but took no degree. He was a student of the classics, but in one place he describes himself as 'student in divinitie' and in another as 'preacher of the Word of God.' He inclined to puritanism, and was patronised by noble ladies of known puritan proclivities. It is doubtful if he were a beneficed clergyman. . . .

Mention is further made of another John Phillips, M.A. and B.D. of Cambridge, who died in 1640, but no references are given and no attempt is made to connect him with the above.¹

I do not on the present occasion propose to go into the strictly biographical side of the question, about which, indeed, there seems little to be said, but I think that a consideration of the bibliographical evidence alone will suffice to alter

¹ He was, I think, clearly a different person. The D. N. B. says: 'Another John Phillips (d. 1640) who was a graduate of Cambridge (M.A. and B.D.), and vicar of Faversham, Kent, from 1606 till his death in 1640, published in 1625 *'The Way to Heaven'* (London, 4to). This is an expansion of a funeral discourse on a friend, Edward Lapworth, M.D., a reputed papist [see under Lapworth, Edward, 1574-1636].' Unfortunately this reference is not very helpful. If Edward Lapworth, M.D. of Oxford, died in 1636, his funeral sermon cannot have been published in 1625. But there appears to have been a Cambridge Edward Lapworth, whose career was uncannily parallel to that of his Oxford namesake. While this latter graduated B.A. in 1592, M.A. in 1595, and M.D. in 1611, the former took the same degrees in 1591, 1595, and 1611! It seems certain that it was the Oxford man who became professor in that University and practised at Bath, but in that case it surely must have been the Cambridge man, and not the Oxford as the D. N. B. has it, who practised at Faversham in 1617-9. The sermon has the title, *'The Way to Heauen . . . By Iohn Phillips, Bachelor of Diuinity, and Pastor of Feversham in Kent . . . London Printed by Felix Kingston, 1625.'* The epistle is headed, *'To the right worshipfull, the Maior, and the Iurats his Brethren: and to the Communalitie of the Towne and Port-limme of Feuersham in Kent, I. P. wisheth happy societie with the heauenly Ierusalem, heere, and in heauen,'* and is subscribed, *'Yours in the Lord Iesus, Iohn Phillips.'* This no doubt bears some general resemblance to the style of our author, but the reader who compares it with the examples to be given later on will have no difficulty in finding differences. There is, moreover, evidence that the Queens' College student was dead in 1626: had he lived to 1640 he would almost certainly have been over ninety.

considerably the light in which the matter is presented in the Dictionary of National Biography.

To begin with the notice of 'John Philip.' It must be borne in mind that the 'tracts' are themselves the sole source of our knowledge respecting their author, and Collier's account is obviously based on them. Now, had the writer of the notice consulted the tracts themselves in the library of Lambeth Palace, or even looked at the reprint of them in the Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society which he would have found in the British Museum, he could not have failed to make a number of interesting observations. In the first place he would have noticed that the tracts, far from being 'chiefly in doggerel verse,' contain only two poems, occupying together six pages out of a total of forty-four. Next he would have found that it is these hortatory or execratory poems only (or rather the second of them) to which an author's name is attached, so that there is no ground whatever for ascribing the prose report of the trial to the same hand. Lastly he would have discovered that the name of the author is not given as Philip at all, but as Phillips. Of course I am quite aware that in the sixteenth century Philip and Phillips would be practically interchangeable forms, but that is no excuse for a biographer, when the only original authority has the form Phillips, adopting the form Philip for his heading. Again one would have thought that the republication of such a tract as this after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century was sufficiently unlikely, and the application for a fresh licence sufficiently anomalous,

to induce the writer to look rather carefully into the evidence before making such an assertion. But the entry in the Stationers' Register to which he alludes, and which he misdates 15th (instead of 16th) July, 1589, mentions 'the execucon of *Three* notorious witches at Chelmissford Sizes *last*' (Arber, ii. 525). The feat of imagination by which this is made to refer to the execution, on the writer's own showing, of a single woman twenty-three years before, is hardly what one looks for from a sober historian. And if evidence were needed to show that in the present case imagination had not proved, as it sometimes does, a short cut to the truth, it would be forthcoming in another entry in the Register about a fortnight later, when, on 29th July, H. Carre obtained a licence for 'A newe ballad of the life and deathe of Three wyches Arrayned and executed at Chelmissford. 5. Iulij 1589' (Arber, ii. 526).

So much for 'John Philip.' We must next consider whether there is any ground for differentiating the author of the verses in the Chelmsford tract from the student of Queens' College, Cambridge, and if not, what form of the name can show most authority.

The distinction between the two was not an invention of the writer in the D. N. B. It seems to have originated with Collier, who, however, gave no more reason for his procedure than did his follower. Probably, since both ascribed the whole tract to the author of the verses, they imagined that they had to do with a local muse of Essex. For this opinion there is obviously no foundation.

The London publisher having received an account of the trial of the supposed witches from a local correspondent, 'no doubt' procured the services of the first rimester to hand to prefix a few verses of the sort that every notable crime, blazing star, or monstrous pig, called forth by the ream in the sensation-loving metropolis. Short specimens of the present effusion will suffice, and in giving them I have taken the liberty of making one or two emendations in brackets, of revising the punctuation, and of printing the verses in long instead of short lines.

Thus in the 'Preface' we read:

My tremblinge hande for feare doth quake, my dolour
doth excede:

My ioyes decrease to tender teares, my sportes are turned
in dede,

The gredy gulfs of grylsy griefe so gripe my restles harte,
That my pore pen can scantly shewe the passions of my
smarte. . . .

The dolour nowe so doubtfull is, that skante my warbling
penne

Can forth expresse the sense thereof vnto the sonnes of
men. . . .

The sessions [were] by order kepte offenders to correct;
Thre feminine dames attached were whom Sathan had
infect

With Belials [sprite], whose sorcery did the simple so
molest

That when they woulde with present death they were full
sore opprest.

Truly 'pore' is a happier epithet than 'warbling'
for our author's pen. From the 'Exhortation'
which follows may be cited the following lines:

Behold these acts and scan them well, behold their peruers
way :

These left the lord, these did, his truth, which shold haue
ben their stay.

In them such power Sathan had, that Christ they did
refuse,

His precious blud shed them to saue to much they did
abuse.

Warned by their example, let all men reform,

Then shall Gods arms be opened wide, vs wretches to
embrace,

And with his saines in his kingdome he will vs surely
place.

To whych kingdome for Christes sake vouchsafe thy
flocke to bringe :

That we as thy electes, deare God, to thee may prayes singe.

If these lines be compared with certain specimens which I shall have occasion to quote later on, I think the reader will agree that while they perhaps hardly afford convincing evidence of community of authorship, they at least offer no suggestion of the reverse. Nor can the general nature of the publication be adduced in favour of a different origin. The verses prefixed to the bald report of the judicial examinations form just such an essay in journalistic piety as the 'Wonderful Work of God showed upon a child whose name is William Withers, who lay in a Trance the space of ten days,' the work unquestionably of the Cambridge student, while this in turn links on with the author's general untrussing of the vices of the age in his 'Summon to Repentence, given unto Christians for a Looking-glass.' The only valid ground, so far as I have

been able to discover, for suspecting that there might have been two writers rather than one, was to be found in the fact that the Chelmsford tracts were some years earlier than any other recorded writings by any author of the name. But the inception of the Queens' student's literary career must anyhow be pushed back to 1569-70, when his 'Friendly Larum' was licensed, so that there was, even on the evidence before the writer in the Dictionary, an interval of four years only between the Chelmsford tracts and the earliest work of the Cambridge writer. Even this brief interval is now bridged, for the recently recovered play, which must certainly be ascribed to the Cambridge poet, was licensed in the first instance as early as 1565-6, and for some reason re-entered in 1568-9. There remains, therefore, no shadow of reason for supposing that there was more than one John Philip, or Phillips, etc., writing between the years 1560 and 1590.

As to the form of the name it may be observed that while the D. N. B., having entered the Phillips of the Chelmsford tract as Philip, gives the name of the Cambridge writer as Phillips, Philips, or Phillyps, a glance at the publications enumerated in the article will show that the form without the final -s is at least as common as that with it. Collier was in accord with the evidence in writing Philip or Phillips indifferently, and I shall, I think, be able to show that the authorities of the British Museum in adopting the form Phillip as the heading in their catalogue have the great bulk of the evidence at their back.

The little that is known about the man himself may be briefly summarized. The authority for the ensuing statements will be found in the bibliographical notes given below. In 1578 the writer describes himself as 'Reginij Cantabrigiensis Collegij Alumnus' ('Commemoration of Margaret Douglas'), and as 'Student in Divinity' ('Rudiments of Reason'), and again in 1584 as 'student of Cambridge' ('Summon to Repentance'). The designation of 'Preacher of the Word of God' is not known to occur before 1626, when the writer was dead ('Perfect Pathway to Paradise'). I have not found the authority for the statement in the D. N. B. that he was a 'student of the classics,' and this may be a mere inference from the occasional classical commonplaces which occur in his work. Unfortunately a search among the archives of his college and university, most obligingly undertaken for me at Cambridge by the Master of Queens' College and the Assistant Registry, have yielded nothing but negative results, and his academic career must therefore for the present remain a blank. Addressing Catharine Bertie, Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, in 1570, he speaks of himself as 'sonne of your poore seruant (of long time)' ('Friendly Larum'), but whether he is referring to his father or mother does not appear. Elsewhere he tells us that his father, Robert Phillip, was a clothworker, and was already dead in 1584 ('Summon to Repentance'). It is possible that a diligent search among the records of the Clothworkers' Company might show where he lived, and thus lead to the discovery of the entry of his son's baptism. Lastly

there is a mention of 'my brother in lawe, Iohn Phillipps' in the will of Samuel Daniel, dated 4th September, 1619 (Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 157), but nothing further seems known of this individual, and the source of the information (Peter Cunningham) is not above suspicion. Further than this it seems at present impossible to advance, and we must content ourselves with a list of the works which can reasonably be ascribed to our author.

1. If the description of him as a 'preacher' is correct, it may be admitted that a considerable portion of his literary output was of a severely professional nature. His earliest work, so far as date of publication goes, is pretty certainly the verse contributed to what I have spoken of as the Chelmsford tracts. Early in the year beginning 22nd July, 1566, we find entries in the Stationers' Register as follow: 'Recevyd of Wylliam pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge of the examynation of certen wyches at Chensforde before the quenes majesties Iudges in the Countye of Essex . . . iiiij^d,' and again, 'Recevyd of William pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge of the secounde examynation and conf[e]syon of Augnes waterhowse and Ione hyr Doughter &c. . . . iiiij^d' (Arber, i. 328-9).

A copy of the pamphlet or pamphlets is preserved among the books collected by Richard Bancroft, which form the nucleus of the Archbishopal library at Lambeth,¹ and another is said to

¹ I am indebted to the Librarian at Lambeth Palace for allowing me facilities for examining this and the next items.

be in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere.¹ There is also a reprint in the eighth volume of the Philobiblon Miscellanies, but since this does not reproduce the bibliographical peculiarities of the original it may be worth while to give a pretty full description. There are three tracts, or sections, as we please to regard them.

(i.) The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde in the Countie of Essex, before the Quenes maiesties Iudges, the xxvi. daye of Iuly. Anno. 1566, at the Assise holden there as then, and one of them put to death for the same offence, as their examination declareth more at large.

Below this title is a woodcut representing Christ washing the disciples' feet. The book is in octavo, with the collation A⁸ B⁴, 12 leaves, unnumbered. The title occupies A₁, the verso being blank. On A₂ there follows 'The Epistle to the Reader.' This is unsigned, but to judge from its style it may well have come from the pen of our author. Next, on A₃, begins the first set of verses (thirty-six fourteeners, printed as short lines) with the heading 'The Preface,' and subscribed 'Finis Prolog.' There is no name attached, but the reader who has considered the extracts printed above, will probably have little difficulty in coming to the conclusion that both sets of verses are by the same hand.

¹ According to the D. N. B. (the authority for the above statement) only the first part is preserved at Bridgewater House, but the writer makes three tracts of what most people would lump together as one. However, the Librarian of the Bridgewater collection, kindly replying to a query on the subject, informs me that no such tract is there at all.

The second set (fifty-six fourteeners, similarly printed), that bearing the important subscription 'Finisq Iohn Phillips,' begins on A₄ below the heading 'An exhortation to all faithfull men wyllinge them to set Gods feare before their eyes and Sathans practises vtterly to despise annexed to the same, profitable for euery Christian man to reade and to imbrace.' It is only after all these preliminaries that we come to the real subject of the publication, the report of the trial, which begins on A₆ with the heading 'The examination of them with their confession before Doctor Cole and master Foscue at the same Sise verbatim as nere as coulde be gathered, and firste of Elizabeth Frauncis who saide as here foloweth.' The beginning of this section is adorned with a woodcut of two women, while another, representing a cat, appears on A₆^v. The next division, headed 'Mother waterhouse of Hatfylde peuerell of the age of .lxiiii. yeares being examined the same day confessed as followeth, & the xxix. daye suffered,' begins on A₈^v, while a woodcut intended to represent a toad, though bearing more resemblance to a salamander, adorns B₁. The last division begins on B₃ with the heading 'Ione Waterhouse, daughter to this mother Waterhouse, being of the age of .xviii. yeres, and examined, cōfesseth as foloweth.' Her confession is ornamented with a cut of a woman at the beginning and another of a black dog on B₃^v. It ends with an ornament on B₄, the verso being occupied by

¹ In the reprint these words appear as 'Finis et John Phillips,' the transcriber having mistaken the 'quod' contraction for an ampersand!

the colophon, 'Imprynted at London by Willyam Powell for Wylliam Pickeringe dwelling at Sainte Magnus corner and are there for to be soulede. Anno 1566. the .13. August.'

(ii.) The second examination and Confession of mother Agnes Waterhouse & Ione her daughter, vpon her arainement with the questions & answers of Agnes Browne the childe, on whom the spirite haunteth at this present, deliberately declared before Iustice Southcote and master Gerard the quenes attorney, the .xxvii. day of Iuly Anno. 1566. no lesse wonderfull then most true.

Below is a woodcut of a fine black dog of the horned species. Octavo, A⁸, eight leaves, unnumbered. The title occupies A₁, the verso being blank. The text begins on A₂, with the heading 'The Confession of Agnes Waterhouse the .xxvii. daye of Iuly in Anno. 1566. at Chelmsforde before Iustice Southcote and M. Gerard the quenes Attorney,' and ends on A₈ above the colophon, which appears to be printed from the same setting of type as in the first tract. The woodcut is repeated on A₄, and A₈^v is blank.

(iii.) This is hardly to be regarded as a separate tract. It consists of two leaves only, the first being signed A, and has no proper title-page. At the end is the colophon, again from the same setting. The heading runs: 'The ende and last confession of mother Waterhouse at her death, whiche was the xxix. daye of Iuly. Anno. 1566.' The text begins with a woodcut of a woman, the broken label to which contains the printed legend 'Mother

Waterhouse.' The cat cut of the first tract is repeated on the verso of this leaf.

There is no reason to suppose that these minute pamphlets were intended for separate issue. The copy was evidently set up as the Chelmsford correspondent sent it in, and very probably some copies of the first section may have been printed off and issued at once. It may have been this that necessitated a second entry in the Register. Technically, no doubt, we must regard the report as constituting at least two publications, but for practical purposes we may, I think, speak of it as a single work without being seriously misleading.

2. The next work that falls to be considered is undated, but there seems no reason against its identification with 'a larum to the tru harted subiects of London' entered on the Stationers' Register by Richard Jones in 1569-70 (Arber, i. 412). One copy is again preserved among Bancroft's books at Lambeth, another is in the collection of Mr. A. H. Huth. The title, enclosed in a lace border, runs:

A Friendly Larum, or faythfull warnynge to the true harted Subiectes of England. Discoueryng the Aetes, and malicious myndes of those obstinate and rebellious Papists that hope (as they terme it) to have theyr Golden day. By I. Phil. Imprinted at London in Fleetstreete, by William How: for Rycharde Iohnes.

The book is an octavo with the collation A-C⁸ D⁴, 28 leaves, unnumbered. The first leaf is occupied by the title, the verso being blank. There follows on A: an epistle dedicatory, headed 'To the moste vertuous and gracious Ladie Katherin Duches

of Suffolke, Iohn Phillip wisheth continuall health of body and minde, from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christe. Amen,' and subscribed 'Your humble and obedient oratour Sonne of your poore seruant (of longe time,) Iohn Phillip.' Next, on A₄, we have 'To the Reader I. Phillip wisheth health in Christe the giuer thereof, &c.,' an address signed 'Thy poore freende Iohn Phillip.' The text, headed 'A faithfull Warning, to the true hearted Subiectes of Englande,' and bearing the running-title, 'A friendly Larum for true English Subiectes,' begins on A₆ and ends with the word 'Finis' on D₃. D₃' and D₄ are blank.

The verse in which this tract is written is of a rather loose description. The author seems to have intended to make alexandrines and fourteeners alternate, but the latter often usurp the places of the former. The lines in the original are divided into two for convenience of printing, but this peculiarity need not be retained. The opening and closing verses will give a fair idea what lies between :

What meanes the ragynge mindes, of cruell carelesse sorte?
To raunge with rage whose chollor hot they deeme a
 sweete disporte.

Or why do Papistes mutter so, in euery corner now?
Such tidinges straunge, as scarsly they in triall dare auow.
Their tongues to tell forth lies, they dayly do imploy:
To slaunder truth, and godly men, they take exceeding ioy.

Thus shall the mighty God, be our Defence and stay:
And keepe the cruell Papists still from their longe wished
 day.

And we shall haue as God do graunt, to Papists swift
decay,

The worlde of grace sincerely Preacht, which is our Goden
day.

Which to continew longe, to God let vs all pray:

Whose glorious name be Lauded still, for this our Golden
day.

3. Next comes the earliest of a series of broadside 'Epitaphs' to which our author put his name. They are mostly undated, but were presumably issued within a few weeks of the events which they bewail. The present poem was licensed to 'Rychard Ionnes' on or shortly after 22nd July, 1570 as 'an epytaph of my lady mares' (Arber, i. 435). The only copy recorded is in the Huth collection and is thus described in the catalogue: 'An Epitaph on the death of the vertuous Matrone, the Ladie Maioresse, late wyfe to the right Honorable Lorde, (Alexander Auenet) Lord Maior of the Citie of London. Who deceased the .vii. daie of Iuly. 1570. [at the end] Post Funera viuitt virtus. Quoth Iohn Phillip. Imprinted at London by Richarde Iohnes.' I have not seen the original, but append a few lines from a reprint in Lilly's collection of 'Ballads and Broad-sides' (1867, p. 178):¹

¹ This collection consists of reprints of broadsides collected by George Daniel, at whose sale they were purchased by Henry Huth. The introduction and notes were 'supplied by two gentlemen profoundly versed in early English literature.' The note on the present poem seems worth quoting: 'The name of the Lord Mayor was Avenon, not Auenet, as here given. The death of this estimable lady in July was, singularly enough, followed by the widower's marriage on October 22nd in the same year. "1570, Oct. 22,

Helpe nowe, ye Muses nyne, powre out your noates of
woe!

Aide me, with pitious piercing plaints, the loue of her to
shoe,

Whose virtues, maugre Death! shall lyue and last for aye,
As flying Fame in golden trump doth cherefully display. . .
But who shall haue the greatest losse I know is not
vnknownen,—

Her best beloued, the wight whom shee accompted for
her owne,

The Lorde MAIOR, whiche nowe doth rule in LONDON,
noble citie,

Shall want her sight,—the greater grieve to misse a mate
so wittie. . . .

Farewell, O lady deare! the heauens haue chosen thee,—
Receyue this VALE; I haue done; thou gettest no more
of mee.

Not very stirring poetry this, but yet of a style
that commended itself to a goodly band of civic
laureates.

A note in the Huth Catalogue states that 'The
same author appears to have written an epitaph'
on Sir Alexander Avenet himself, when that worthy
followed his wife to the grave just ten years later,
and gives a reference to Arber's Transcript of the
Register 'ii. p. 171.' This reference is wrong:
it should be ii. 375, where under the date 13th July,

was married Sir Alexander Avenon, Lord Mayor, and mistress
Blunden, widow, by a license, within his own house," Register of
Allhallows, Bread Street, ap. Malcolm, ii. 12. The epitaph upon
this lady is recorded in Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1618, p. 496.
His first wife, the lady commemorated in the ballad, was Elizabeth,
daughter of John Slow of King's Norton. See a pedigree in MS.
Harl. 1096.

1580, will indeed be found an entry to J. Kingston of an epitaph on Sir Alexander. Since, however, there is no mention of any author's name, and no sum appears to have been paid, it is not only gratuitous to assign the composition to Phillip, but hazardous to suppose that the piece ever saw the light at all.

4. The second of these epitaphs is on another civic dignitary. A copy is preserved at Britwell Court, of which Hazlitt furnishes the following description ('Notes and Collections,' i. 329):

An Epytaphe, or a lamentable Discourse: wherein is bewayled the death of the Right worshipfull Knight, Sir William Garrat: one of the Queenes Maiesties Commissioners, and chiefe Alderman of the Citie of London. Who deceased the 27. of September. 1571. [At the end.] Finis. I. Phillip. Imprinted at London in the vpper end of Fleetelane: by Richarde Iohnes, and are to be sould at his Shop, ioyning to the South west Doore of saint Paules Church. 1571. October 4.

The entry of this piece is not extant, there being an unfortunate gap in the Stationers' accounts extending from July 1571 to July 1576. It does not appear to have been reprinted.

5. We next come to a tantalizingly elusive work. 'A slightly less lugubrious romance in fourteen-syllable ballad metre by Phillips,' says the writer in the D. N. B., 'is "A rare and strange Historicall Nouell of Cleomenes and Sophonisba surnamed Juliet. Very pleasant to reade." 1577,' adding that the work is dedicated to George [sic] Fiennes, Lord Dacre. The entry of this piece in the

Register on 14th October, 1577, is as follows: 'Hughe Iaxon Lycenced vnto him the renowned historie of Cleomenes and Iuliet . . . vj^d and a copy.' There is also independent evidence of publication, for the entry 'Item an English booke called the History of Cleominus and Iuliet' occurs in an old list subscribed 'Finis per me Rogerū Roes,' found on the fly-leaf of a Cicero of 1511 ('J. C. J.' in N. and Q., 2. ii. 386). In 1786 Herbert gave the entry 'The renowned historie of Cleomines & Iuliet' which might be taken from the Register, but added 'Oçtavo,' though apparently not from personal knowledge. Ritson in 1802 was the first to give definite information in an entry 'Phillip, John, wrote and publish'd "A rare and strange historicall nouell of Cleomenes and Sophonisba, surnamed Iuliet; very pleasant to reade:" printed by Hugh Jackson, 1577, 8vo.' ('Bibliographia Poetica,' 299). Collier had not seen the book in 1849, when in his notes on the Stationers' Register, he referred to Ritson's entry (ii. 48), but when he came to issue his 'Bibliographical and Critical Account' in 1865 he added the following specimen of the verse in which this 'historicall nouell' is apparently written:

Aspyring myndes still toyle to clyme the top of Honours
 stall,
 But hasty clyming often tymes doth catch a sodayne
 fall:
 Yet leave I them with Prince in Court, as seeming friendes
 to stay,
 And to Clandestines agayne in Cell I must my way;

Whose playntes surmounting seeme to show, his teares
lyke ryvers runne,
And oft he blames the froward fates that so his fyle have
sponne.

Collier quotes this passage to illustrate the use of the uncommon word 'file' for the thread of life, which he had previously recorded in a line from John Partridge's romance of 'Placidus':¹

Thus ended they their mortal race, their file was at an ende.

Unfortunately neither Ritson nor Collier mention the whereabouts of the book, and I have failed to find any trace of it. Hazlitt ('Handbook,' 477) and the writer in the D. N. B. are equally silent, and I cannot help doubting whether, when the latter described the romance as 'slightly less lugubrious' than the general run of Phillip's works, he had any acquaintance with it beyond the extract printed by Collier. His mention of the dedication, the only point he adds to Hazlitt's description, is apparently misquoted from Hunter's 'Chorus Vatum,' where it is given on the authority of

¹ 'The Worthe Hystorie of the most Noble and valiaunt Knight Plasidas, otherwise called Eustas, who was martyred for the Profession of Iesus Christ. Gathered in English verse by Iohn Partridge, in the yere of our Lord 1566. Imprinted at London by Henrye Denham, for Thomas Hacket: and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Lumbarde streete.' 8°. Licensed to Hacket in 1565-6 (Arber, i. 308). Copies are in the Bodleian and Pepysian Libraries according to Hazlitt ('Handbook,' 446). Collier reprinted the poem in 1866 in his 'Illustrations of Old English Literature,' vol. iii. He also invented a play on the subject by Chettle, and supported it by forging two entries in Henslowe's Diary.

Bagford. I append Bagford's entry from MS. Harley 5892 (fol. 23^v): 'A Rare & strange history-call Nouell of Cleomines, Sophonisba surnamed Iuliet, very pleasant to reade & newly set forth & published in English Meeter, by Io: phillip dedicated to y^e right Honorable S^r Gregory ffinnes Knight Lord Dakers of y^e South: Imprinted in fleatestrete beneath the Canduite at y^e signe of S^t Iohn Euangelest by H: Iackson. in 8.' Further than this I am unable to carry the point, but from Ritson's and Bagford's entries it is clear that the author's name appeared in the printed volume as Phillip.

6. On 7th December, 1577, the following entry was made in the Stationers' Register: 'hugh Iaxon. / Licensed vnto him a book intituled precious perles of perfecte godlines to be vsed of euery faythfull xpian begonne by ffrauncis Aburgavenny and finished by Iohn Phillip. au^torised by the Bisshop of London . . . iiii^d and a copy' (Arber, ii. 321). Nothing further seems to be known of the book.

7. Another work only known from the Stationers' Register is thus entered under date 26th April, 1578: 'Stephen Peele. Lycensid vnto him a booke intituled the Rudimentes of Reason gathered out of the preceptes of the worthie and learned philosopher periander by Ihon philips student in Divinitie 1578' (Arber, ii. 327). No sum is entered, and it is therefore doubtful whether the publication was allowed.

8. Next in order comes another of the broadside 'Epitaphs,' and it will be observed that Phillip has now turned his attention from the City to

more aristocratic quarters. The very long heading of the unique sheet preserved at Britwell Court need not be quoted in full, as it is almost verbally the same as the title of the 'Commemoration' to be quoted further on. But the description supplied by Hazlitt (C. and N., i., 329) may be abbreviated thus: 'An Epitaphe on the death of the right noble and most vertuous Lady Margarit Douglassis good grace, Countesse of Liuincox. . . . [at the end] Viuit post funera virtus. Finis. I. Phillips. Imprinted at London, for Edward White, and are to be solde at the little North dore of Paules at the signe of the Gunne.' The Countess died 9th March, 1577/8; no licence appears to have been obtained.

9. The more important tribute offered by Phillip to the memory of this lady, a tribute representing no doubt his maturer labour and reflection, bore the title:

A Commemoration of the Right Noble and vertuous Ladye, Margrit Duglassis good grace, Countis of Lennox, Daughter to the renowmed and most excellent Princesse Margrit, Queene of Scotland, espoused to King Iames the fourth, of that name: In the daies of her most puissaunt and magnificent Father Henry the seuenth, of England, Fraunce and Ireland King: Wherin is rehearsed hir godly life, her constancy and perfit pacience, in time of imfortune, her Godly end, & last farewell, taken of al Noble estates at the howre of her death. The ninth day of March. 1577. At her house of Hackney in the Countie of Middlesex: And now lyeth entered the thyrd of April, in the Chappel of King Henry the seau[n]th her worthy Grandfather. 1578. And Anno .20. of our Soueraigne

Lady Queene Elizabeth, by Gods permission of England, Fraunce and Irelande Queene, &c. [Colophon] Imprinted at London by Iohn Charlewood, dwelling in Barbycan, at the signe of the halfe Eagle and Key.

The pamphlet is in quarto. After the title follows a four-page epistle headed: 'To all Right Noble, Honorable Godlye and Worshipfull Ladyes, Iohn Phillip wisheth the feare of God, prosperitie and peace in Iesus Christ,' and subscribed: 'Vestræ salutis dignitatisq, studiosissimus I. Phillippus. Reginij Cantabrigiensis Collegij Alumnus.' The poem consists of 104 seven-line stanzas, and is subscribed at the end 'Yours at commaunde (in the Lord) Iohn Phyllips.' Copies are at Britwell Court and the British Museum. The epistle prefixed to this work is the only attempt at elegant prose composition which I have met with in Phillip's works, and as such may be quoted as showing of what he was capable on occasion.

Right Honorable and vertuous Ladyes, when flourishing Ver had banished the bytter stormes of Hyems, and geuen Flora liberty with her gallant mantle of greene to garnishe the whole face of the earth: I was drawne by desire throughly to consider the sundry pleasures, and diuerse commodities that she most curtuously presented to worldly inhabitauntes, and finding occasion fyt for my purpose, I tooke my waye for my repast into the fieldes, where I found the barren ground fruitfull, proffering foorth plentifullye her increase, and the naked trees fullye polished and couered with leaues: in the braunches wherof the ch[i]rping birdes, the more to augment my solace, rendred foorth their well tuned concords, the sillye Larke mounting aloft towards the fyrmamente,

rendred forth his ratling noates of ioye, the Thrustle coake, the Mauice, and euery byrde in his kinde obserued his proper and comely harmonye. And thus as on[e] rapt or rauished with ioye, Syr Phæbus with his tramplng steedes raining through the Christaline skies, in the Chari[o]t of Phaeton, making his asendent to the top of the hiest Spyhre [sic], I was constrained partly through wearinesse, and partly the heate of the daye increasing, to sit me down vnder a Betch tree, the braunches wherof semed a Fortresse to shielde me from the partching gleames of tryumphing Tytan: But as my glauncing eyes beganne to suruaye the nature and effectes of gallaunt Aestas, so also did I call to memory how Boreas b[1]ustering blastes and Hyems hoarye froastes, conuerted those present pleasures that Ver brought forth, to nothing, and in fine defaced them as though they had not bene: so that both those seasons I gathered did presayg vnto me the ficklenesse of our courssing tyme and the shorrenesse of our transitory dayes, the flowrishing flowers which long had bin shrowded in the bowels of the earth, beganne not onely to prognosticate to me our estates lyuing her[e] in iollitie: But also set foorth aptlye in theyr kindes, howe and whereto we were subiected, the polished trees serued as a scoolemayster, to publishe vnto mee, our hard and heauy hazardes in this terrestriall vale of mysery and immortalitye [sic!], the lesson that by them I learned was worthy to be considered: For the marke they bad me ame at was Death, and yet after Death, as they through the sweete deawes and sauory showers, did florish and prosper againe after they were wythered away: so also gaue they intelligence to me, that dissaight of death and graue by the myghty prouidence of GOD, all creatures should arise from theyr slumber and come before the trybunall seate of the almighty, where the faythful should be rewarded with eternall lyfe, and the vnbeleeuing recompenced with endlesse torments. But as I sat discoursing these causes, Sol hastng with speedinesse

towards the Occident, Tyme gave me charge to repayre towards my lodging, whiche attayned: I entred into my former Muse, and tooke my penne in hand, mynding to haue written some Pamphlet in these my former discourses; But loe, contrary to my expectation, Mercury the messenger of Iubiter [sic], arested myne eyes with Sopor.

In which season Morpheus [sic], (as it were in a vision) set before myne eyes to my thinking a very pyttfull spectacle: For there appeared vnto me a Noble Lady compassed with care, pursued by dolour, shoared vp with perfyte patience amidst her extremities, and lastly so supported with trueth, that payying her infortunes which seemed in shoe incredible, and therewithall her constancye in sufferinge calamities, I could not but wonder, on[e] while I lamented her estate, another while I tryumphed in her: Whose patience as a Bulwarke was readye to beare the brunts of fickle Fortune, thus one while drowned in grieve, and eft againe comforted by hoape, at laste I waked, and looking behinde me: I beheld me thought the personages present, with whome in my slumber before, I had beene acquainted, and therewith all the trueth began to speake vnto me, perswading me first to set aside all feare, and to marke sith I had purposed to writ some matter concerning the mutabilities of the tyme, what that Noble Ladye would discourse vnto me: For that she had felte in this lyfe the fulnesse of Fortunes fallaces, to whose heastes I gaue my selfe willingly, rather encouraged (good Ladyes) by the trueth, then settling vpon mine owne skill, to take so waighty an attempt in hand: and thus she began her tale as followeth, which as her freendlye and faythfull farewell, is rendred into your hands that feare GOD, lead your lyues loyally, and are louers of virtue, whose reward in this lyfe is honor, and after the graue to the vtter foyle of Death, eternall fame, and the ritch and glorious kingdom purchased by Christ at the last day. The which place, God of his infinite bounty and goodnesse, for his anointed Sons sake graunt you.

This was an unusual effort for Phillip, who seems to have been conscious of wandering from the style of his 'former discourses,' but the last few lines of the address may be taken as a sufficient specimen of the sort of effusion with which our author was in the habit of filling some pages of preliminary matter. Lady Margaret begins her 'freendly Farewell geuen to Honorable and vertuose Ladies' thus:

Good Ladies al your listning eares I craue,
Til time my tale be fully brought to end:
Though y' my corps be subiect to the graue,
Yet vouch awhile to heare your faythful freend.
To you these lines for my farewell I sende,
Accept them then, and reade them for my sake,
And of my name, a new memoriall make.

But the author cannot for long confine himself to the sobriety of the iambic decasyllable. In the course of the lady's family history we read:

Queene Mary disceast, to Englands great ioy,
Elizabeths grace attained the crowne:
Who laboured her subiects to shielde from anoy,
Gods trueth she aduancst, and falsehood put downe,
Through Europ is blowen her highnesse renowne,
Whose flourishing fame brauncheth lyke tholiue greene:
Tryumph you Brittaines in your royall Queene.

Perhaps the most interesting passage of the poem, however, is the stanza thus printed in the original:

H Hautinesse came on to march with his traine,
 A And treason the Ensine and Standert did beare :
 M Myschiefe made speede the innocent to paine,
 B Bouldnesse stept vp his rancor to reare.
 L Lust longed to haue the blood of my deare,
 E Enuy prest on at vnitie to grudge,
 T Treason in this case, presumed to be iudge.

Curiously enough this allusion appears to have escaped the notice of Shakespearian students. One of them should now examine this neglected poem in the hope of making further discoveries!

The lament ends :

And thus good Ladyes farewell and adew,
 My race is full run, my trauels haue ende :
 As death in this lyfe, my lyfe did subdew,
 So death vnto you his footesteps will bende.
 Regarde my sayinges, think you on your freende,
 For as I am gon, beleeue me you maye,
 You needes must follow, your substaunce is clay.

Phillip will learn to do better than this in time, but as yet his work is but an indifferent exercise in the school of Sackville.

W. W. GREG.

(To be concluded.)

ON THE LIBRARY AT KING EDWARD VI. SCHOOL, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

(*Postscript.*)

SINCE the article on 'Bury School Library' was published ('THE LIBRARY,' January, 1910), the headmaster, Mr. E. T. England, has made two important discoveries. In the first place, he has found in a cubicle-box in a disused bedroom the long-lost MS. of Prudentius, a description of which follows:

Cent. XV, second half. ? Italian. 13 cm.

Written in a neat hand, averaging 21 ll. to the page. The first capital, P, is in blue, with a red pen-work ornament; the rest are in red or blue. The outside and inside sheet of each quire are vellum, the rest paper. Old limp vellum binding, with flap.

Collation: a—z¹²; 276 leaves. Manuscript signatures and foliation. Paper fly leaves at beginning and end, of which the other halves appear as blank leaves after ff. 12 and 264 respectively.

Contents: F. 1, Prefatio; f. 2, [Liber cathemerinon] Hymnus ad Gallicinium; f. 42, Liber peristephanon; f. 133, Incipit cyrocheus [Diptychon] prudentii de toto veteri et novo testamento personarum excerptis . . .; f. 133

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verso, Incipiunt tituli historiarum; f. 139 *verso*, Psychomachia; f. 163 *verso*, Apotheosis; f. 191, Hamartigenia; f. 215, Liber primus contra Symmachum; f. 233, Liber secundus contra Symmachum; f. 262, Ambrosius. Epistola ad Valentinianum Imperatorem [Opera, Paris, 1842, Ep. xvii.].

Given to the School by 'M. Coe, Clericus,'¹ presumably in 1684, for in Leedes' Donors' Book under that date Coe is stated to have given 'L: MSS.'

Secondly, two early inventories of the 'bookes and utensills' in the School have come to light among the documents in the Evidence Chest. One of them is dated February 1570, and the other evidently belongs to the same period. They are practically duplicates. First comes a list of sixteen books 'in the scholemasters chamber,' to which no donors are assigned, but which include a Pliny, a Virgil, and a Horace—no doubt those left to the School in 1552 by the will of John King (Bury Wills, ed. S. Tymmms, 1850). Then a list of books 'given to the schoole by Mr. Rudde late schoole-master there'; followed by a list of the books 'given by Mr. Thomas Andrewes to the use of the schole and remayninge in the studdye of the scholemasters chamber.' The Rudde books number 291, and the Andrewes books 116. The Andrewes list is in a different hand from that used in the earlier part of the inventory, and was probably added later, for it includes two books given by Edward Lucas in 1573.

¹ Moses Coe was educated at Bury School and at Magdalene College, Cambridge (M.A. 1676). He died in 1727, having been rector of Elmsett in Suffolk for forty years.

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It is evident that Edward Leedes, when he made his Catalogue in 1672-3, did not know of these lists. At any rate he made no use of them, for he places in his section of books to which no donors can be assigned many which in these inventories are clearly stated to have been given by Rudde or Andrewes. Furthermore, he is very vague about the books he does connect with Rudde, and only suggests that certain volumes bearing his name *may* have been given to the School by him.

A superficial comparison of these inventories with the Catalogue of a hundred years later, gives the impression that very few books were lost and comparatively few were added in the interval.

A. T. B.

C. G.

REVIEWS.

Early English Text Society, Original Series, 139. Treatises of Fistula, etc. By John Arderne. From an early fifteenth century manuscript translation. Edited, with introduction, notes, etc., by D'Arcy Power, F.R.C.S. Eng.

THE arrival of an Early English Text Society book for review offers 'THE LIBRARY' a welcome opportunity for adding its little tribute to Dr. Furnivall, by whom the Society was founded forty-six years ago, and who managed its affairs with cheery and resourceful autocracy down to the day of his death. It was said of Dr. Furnivall at the dinner which formed one incident in the prolonged celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday that he was 'a missionary to professors,' and, whether professors or not, all who have been at work at our older literature since the Early English Text Society was started in 1864, owe him a deep debt, not only for his strictly literary work, great as that was, but for ever fresh sympathy and encouragement and for the counterpoise offered by his own delightful humanity to studies which in themselves might easily become rather narrowly antiquarian. Of all the learned men who knew and loved him in the universities of two continents hardly one, when the

news came of his death, will have thought of the books he edited. They will have thought of the old man standing bareheaded in the courtyard of the British Museum scattering food to the pigeons, or speaking at some literary club dinner and ingeniously making the excellence of the fare a reason for diverging from a talk on Chaucer or Shakespeare into an appeal for some Children's Country Holiday Fund, or picnicking on his favourite island in the Thames amid a happy crowd of scholars and scullers of both sexes, or returning from that picnic standing up in his boat, armed with a huge boat-hook, his white hair blown by the wind, accomplishing his nefarious feat of being the first out of a crowded lock which he had been the last to enter, or royally dispensing hospitality from his corner in the New Oxford Street A. B. C. It was of no use attempting to pay for one's own tea if 'the Doctor' were in the room, for the waitress, as he used to explain with a chuckle, had probably been in one of his boats the previous Sunday, and so had to do what he told her. It was at the A. B. C. shop that I last saw him. He was sitting a little sadly in an empty room, and he was a little sad as he told me of the few weeks he had to live, for with his keen interest in all there was to do he would willingly have lived. But in two minutes he had forgotten all about himself, and was asking after this friend and that, and telling me the latest literary news, and of the meeting of the Shakespeare Memorial Fund to which he was going. It was this, the keen double interest in the work he set himself to do, and in the lives of every one with whom he

came in contact, which was the secret at once of his marvellous vitality and of the attraction which he exercised on so many different characters. And in the volumes of the Early English Text Society, for which he enlisted recruits, English, German, and American, with a lightness of heart which if it sometimes brought trouble, sometimes also extracted good work from men who had never expected to find themselves E.E.T.S. editors, much of his personality is reflected. The new volume before us, the 139th of the Original Series (there are 107 in the Extra Series, making 246 altogether, hardly one of which, if any, can have been published without his personal supervision), shows how far from the beaten literary tracks he was prepared to travel, and also with what excellent illustrations of English life and manners his adventurousness was often rewarded. A mediæval treatise on *Fistula* does not promise very interesting reading to laymen, but both in the text and in the introduction by Mr. D'Arcy Power, who worthily maintains the literary traditions of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, there is much good matter which even a layman can appreciate. John Arderne, the author of the treatise, was an English surgeon who was seventy, as he tells us, at the accession of King Richard (1377). He seems to have practised abroad in the train of Henry, 1st Duke of Lancaster, and of his son John of Gaunt (among other places at Algeciras, Chaucer's *Algezir*), to have been settled at Newark in Nottinghamshire from 1349 to 1370, then to have come to London, and after five or six years' successful practice there, to have taken to medical literature. He

himself wrote in Latin, but his treatise on *Fistula* was translated into English early in the fifteenth century, and it is this translation which Mr. Power has edited. Arderne's relations with John of Gaunt make it probable that he knew Chaucer, and editors of the 'Canterbury Tales' will find plenty of material here for illustrations of the description of the Doctor of Physik in the Prologue. Here are a few sentences from his advice to his brethren as to their dealings with their patients:

For the cure of fistula in ano, when it is curable, aske he competently of a worthi man and a gret an hundred marke or fourty ponde, with robes and fees of an hundred shilling terme of lyfe by yere. Of lesse men fourty ponde, or fourty marke aske he without fees; And take he noght lesse than an hundred shillingis. For neuer in all my lyf toke I lesse than an hundred shilling for cure of that sekenes. Nathelesse do another man as hym think better and more speedefulle. And gif the pacientes or thair frendes or seruaunts aske by how moche tyme he hopeth to hele it, euermore lat the leche byhete [promise] thee double that he supposeth to spede by half; that is gif the leche hope to hele the pacient by twenty wekes—that is the comon course of curyng—adde he so many ouer. For it is better that the terme be lengthed than the cure. For prolongacion of the cure giffeth cause of dispairyng to the pacientes, when triste to the leche is moste hope of helthe. And gif the pacient considere or wondre or aske why that he heled hym by the half, answer he that it was for that the pacient was strong-herted, and suffrid wele sharp thingis, and that he was of gode complexion and hadde able flesshe to hele; & feyne he othir causes pleseable to the pacient, for pacientes of syche wordes are proude and delited.

It is presumed from the occurrence of such a passage (and similar advice is found in other medical works, though not quite so full) that Arderne felt sure that his book would never fall into the hands of 'pacientes or thair frendes,' but it shows a good deal of the human nature for which Dr. Furnivall was always on the look out in old books, and it is pleasant to think that for the last E.E.T.S. book which the old man saw through the press, he had such an excellent editor as Mr. D'Arcy Power has shown himself, to make his proof-reading a joy to him.

The Irish Booklover. Nos. I.-X. London, printed and published by White & Salmond at the Manor House, Kensal Green. 1909-10.

We hope that by this time every Irish booklover has made the acquaintance of the little magazine which takes this name to itself, and for a nominal subscription of two shillings a year offers month by month information as to Irish books, old and new, published and forthcoming, notes of auction-prices, literary gossip of all sorts, and at least one or two short articles on Irish authors and printers, and other topics of permanent interest. Mr. E. R. McC. Dix, who has done so much for the history of Irish printing, is well to the fore each month, and Mr. John S. Crone seems responsible for the general editing. The paper is thoroughly alive, and deserves all possible support. It has now reached its tenth number.

A. W. P.

THE LIBRARY.

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